

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Support miners

All out for Harrisburg March 28

A war against working people is opening up, beginning in the coalfields. The billionaire energy barons have refused to sign a decent contract with the United Mineworkers of America.

They are out to break the resistance and fighting spirit of one of the major industrial unions, the bedrock of the

An editorial

strength of working people in this country. Every working person has a vital stake in the outcome of this battle.

Sam Church, president of the 160,000-member UMWA, sized up the powerful forces that are trying to crack the union: "It might appear that the UMW is David against the Goliath of big oil, big coal, big steel and others." He concluded: "But I am confident that David is going to win this one, too."

"Even though we don't want a strike, it is inevitable," Church declared March 18.

Thousands of miners have already walked off the job to protest arbitrary firings, safety violations, and other company provocations.

"I don't think the operators want to settle it without a strike," said Church. "Negotiations are meant to be a time of give and take. But the only thing I have seen from [the industry's] three negotiators . . . is take, take, take," he went on.

"We have asked for no more than a decent living, a decent life, a safe workplace, adequate pensions," Church declared.

That's just what the Goliaths Church talked about don't want to grant—not to miners or any other workers.

They demand miners give up guaranteed Sundays off to keep the mines running seven days a week.

They want to force the miners to ac-

cept a company-by-company pension program instead of the present industry-wide program. "What does a retired miner do if his company goes under? He loses his pension," said miner Ed Bell of Martin's Ferry, Ohio.

They want to break the union mine-safety committees that prevent the nation's most dangerous industry from taking the lives of even more miners.

They want to use a stacked arbitration setup to put an end to miners' right to strike to enforce the contract. They want to be able to fire miners who resist contract violations.

The coal bosses say they need to rip these gains away from miners in order to increase productivity. But profits are all they care about.

As they do in every contract fight, the media portray the miners' demands as excessive. But the miners are fighting to hold on to things that all workers want and desperately need.

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Atlanta: protests sweep U.S.



HARLEM, March 13—More than 10,000 marched in candlelight vigil for murdered Black children. Protests against racist killings also occurred in Atlanta and many other cities. See pages 3-5.

Perspectiva Mundial/Anibal Yáñez

...miners

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For years, company public relations men have been putting out the word that the miners are a weak, divided, and declining union. These Goliaths don't know their David.

The UMWA has great reserves of strength. In past struggles, the members established a big degree of union democracy. And they have no hesitation about using union power to defend their needs.

They have another resource denied to the energy Goliaths. Millions of working people in this country support the miners. They know the miners' fight is our fight.

That massive support for the coal miners must begin to be mobilized now. Expressions of solidarity, such as messages from unions and other organizations, should be sent to the UMWA.

The march on Harrisburg March 28, the day after the contract expires, will provide the first opportunity for a massive outpouring of support for the embattled union.

The rally, sponsored by more than ten international unions and many other groups, calls for keeping the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant shut down, for jobs, and for support to the UMWA's fight for a decent contract.

The miners were among the first organizations to come out against nuclear power, and they have spearheaded the growing involvement of labor in the antinuclear movement. "You can't blow up the world with coal," is the way one miner expressed their view.

The UMWA's stand against nuclear power is another reason why the union places high on the energy billionaires' hit list. The coal miners are a big obstacle to their plans to pockmark the country with these death-dealing installations.

This is another reason why every opponent of nuclear power should be in Harrisburg March 28 to support the UMWA.

Opponents of war and the draft should be there, too. The miners' insistence on thinking for themselves and standing up for their rights is an obstacle to the Goliaths' plans for getting us into new Vietnams. Like most workers, miners are increasingly convinced that Washington has no business trying to run the affairs of El Salvador, the Middle East, or anyplace else.

"War is not a solution. It is just destruction," Church said October 10 to the Labor Conference on Safe Energy and Full Employment, which the miners helped organize. "We wouldn't have gotten ourselves into the crisis in the Mideast if

it wasn't for America's lust for their oil."

The mineowners don't have public opinion on their side. But they have the U.S. government in their pocket. They count on Reagan to beat down the miners where Carter failed in 1977.

The industry publication *Coal Age* said in a January editorial: "The coal industry . . . is looking to the White House for removal of obstacles that stand in the way of vigorous coal production and use." That's their code for the mine-workers' union, which stands in the way of their energy ripoff.

And Reagan has already taken their side. His budget proposal called for gutting miners' black lung benefits.

The Reagan program is big-business's program for slashing the living standards and rights of every worker. It takes food from the mouths of schoolchildren in order to buy more weapons of mass destruction. It seeks to slash unemployment compensation in order to stuff more money into the pockets of the rich.

It takes aim at Black rights and women's rights.

And the industrial unions are Reagan's prime targets. The rulers want lower wages, more joblessness, longer hours, and more unsafe working conditions for auto workers, steelworkers, rubber workers, machinists, and others. That means breaking the power of the unions.

This is the mineowners' program for America. And the coal miners stand in Reagan's way.

What is happening in the coalfields and throughout the United States today powerfully confirms labor's principle that an injury to one is an injury to all.

If the miners are able to hold off Goliath's attack, all the Davids will be strengthened—from Blacks in Atlanta, to production line workers in Detroit and Gary, to supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment.

That's why the industrial unions should take the lead in mobilizing solidarity with their brothers and sisters in the coalfields.

The slogan of every working person today must be: "All out for the miners! All out to Harrisburg March 28!"

Now is the time

One of the things you can do to spread word about the miners and their cause is to sell the *Militant*.

The boss-owned media portrays the miners' union as weak, its contract demands as impossible in this day of "belt-tightening." But

through the pages of the *Militant*, miners themselves are talking about why their demands are worth striking for. And why they're ready to take on Reagan to keep their gains.

Militant supporters already report wide interest in the paper in mining communities across the country.

That's in addition to the big increase in *Militant* circulation in Black communities and at protests against the racist murders in Atlanta.

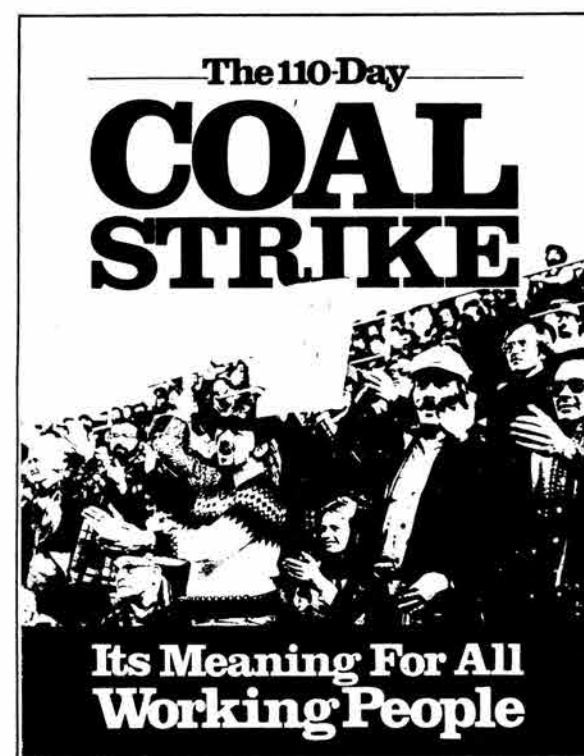
More than 1,000 *Militants* and *Young Socialists* were gotten out at two such protests—in Atlanta and Harlem—the weekend of March 15.

Several demonstrators used the *Militant* as their placard during the protests, displaying the front-page headline: "Stop racist killings!" First-time buyers volunteered to sell the paper to others at the actions.

We urge you to do the same—order a bundle and subscription blanks and introduce your friends to the only paper that tells the truth.

We're convinced there are thousands of people out there—in Black communities, in the mines, in factories, and on campuses—who have been looking for a paper like ours. Thousands more people than we have reached in previous circulation drives.

Now is the time to find them.



Get this pamphlet free with a new subscription to the *'Militant.'* Send in \$2 for eight weeks of the paper to The *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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El Salvador 'White Paper': A Study in Deception

Reagan administration's 'White Paper' on El Salvador aims to whip up popular support for U.S. intervention in Central America. The *Militant* cuts through its well-worn lies, and explains why American people won't buy this bill of goods.

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The Militant

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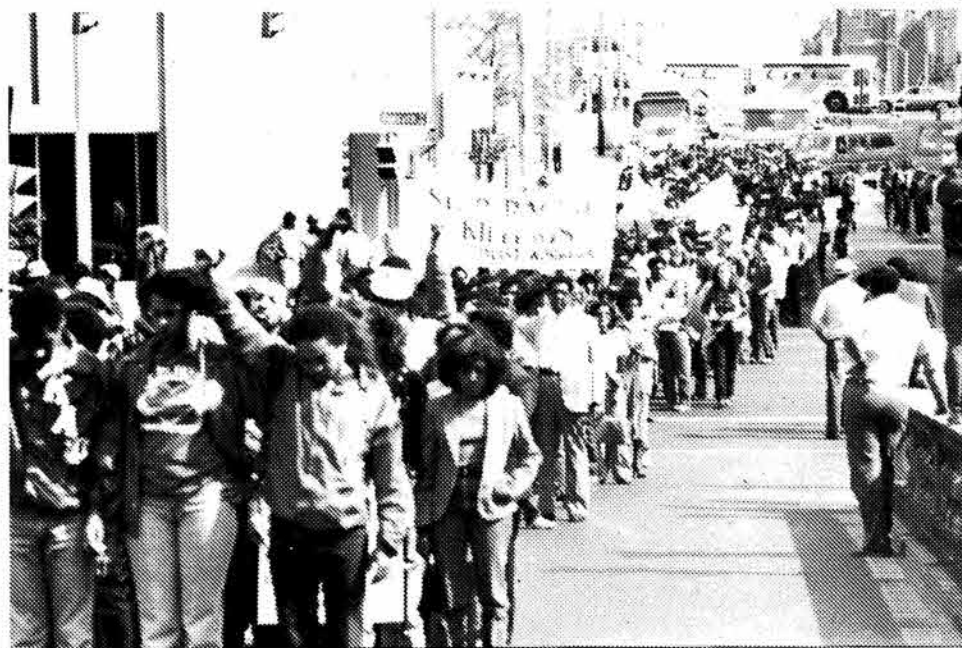
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Atlanta march says halt racist terror



Militant/Osborne Hart

By Osborne Hart

ATLANTA—A victory for the besieged Black community in its fight to halt racist child murders was won here March 15.

In a "Moratorium on Murder—Save the Youth" demonstration, more than 1,500 people marched from the State Capitol to the Morehouse College campus, protesting the killings and the failure to catch those responsible.

Demonstrators voiced their anger through outbursts of "Fired up, can't take it no more!" During the course of the rally they chanted: "We want action! We want action!"

Announced just two weeks earlier by the Association of Christian Student Leaders and Coretta Scott King, the march and rally attracted contingents from Boston, New Orleans, Richmond, St. Louis, Washington, D.C., and Bloomington, Indiana.

Despite a local and national media blackout, delays in granting the permit, and a concerted campaign by city, state, and federal authorities to thwart any public protest, the marchers made their message clear: The slayings are racist and we won't stop demonstrating until they are solved.

Standing before a podium decorated with a wreath displaying the names of the twenty slain children, several of the victims' mothers gave short speeches.

Serena Cobb, mother of Christopher Richardson, said, "The children were not street kids and hustlers." Shouts of "Yeah!" could be heard as the crowd gave her a loud applause.

Cobb was referring to recent media stories and cop speculations that children were involved in illicit activities that led to their deaths.

Thanking the participants for showing up, Annie Rogers, whose son Patrick was the seventeenth victim, shouted:

"I'm damn mad. The news media write what they want to write. Police say what they want to say. They brand our kids street hustlers, when they are trying to make an honest buck.

"What if it was a white boy out

throwing papers? What is he?" she continued. "They have slandered our Black kids so bad."

Disputing the police claim that there's no connection between the murders, Rogers remarked, "I say there is."

The other mothers speaking before the rally were Eunice Jones and Camille Bell. Jones, overcome with tears, extended her gratitude to those who came to show their solidarity.

Bell, who organized and heads the parents' Committee to Stop Children's Murders, outlined the history of the murders and the difficulty in getting government authorities to respond.

Evicted from her apartment by the city's Housing Authority only a few days before, Bell told the rally, "The issue for the mayor is not whether Camille Bell got evicted, but where are the children that are missing?"

Coretta Scott King, widow of the slain civil rights leader, said, "We come today to say to the world that as long as a Black child is not safe in Atlanta, no child is safe and secure anywhere in the world."

Leon Hall, representing Mayor Maynard Jackson, drew a cool reception.

He tried to assure the participants that the "killer or killers" would be captured and "brought to justice." But he was greeted with sporadic calls of "Where's the mayor?" As he left the stage, Hall was confronted by a group of marchers pressing him on the same question. [Two days later, Mayor Jackson disputed the idea the killings are racist and said that the community should "lower their voices." See story below.]

Rev. Joseph Lowery, national president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spoke of the nationwide violence against Blacks.

"We are tired of Black folks being killed in this country—from Buffalo to Atlanta, from Miami to Chattanooga," he began. "And we've come here today to say to this nation that our tiredness is going to be translated into a new movement against injustice."

Lowery said, "We must not fall for

the trick bag of blaming the poor for the economic crisis. We must not fall for the trick bag of thinking that the Russians are killing our children and that we must take money from the poor and give it to the military."

"The Russians are not killing our children," he continued. "Folks in America are killing our children. We got to tell Mr. Reagan that we are not going to stand by and let him take money from hungry children and give it to the military to waste in bombs and planes."

Lowery also denounced the notion that the slain children were "hustlers":

"When white kids are out 'hustling,' they praise them for being industrious and having the American spirit."

The local labor movement made a significant contribution to the success of the demonstration.

A labor news conference was organized and a special leaflet was produced with the endorsement of the Machinists, Communications Workers, Steelworkers, public employees, and Paper Products Union Local 527, currently striking the Mead Packaging Company here.

Prominent banners were carried during the march by members of the Amalgamated Transit Union from Washington, D.C. and CWA Local 3263 from Norcross, Georgia.

Representing labor on the rally platform, Marion Garvin, area vice president for CWA Local 3263, told the rally, "Some of you wonder why organized labor is involved in this situation of the missing and murdered children. Let me proudly say that labor has long cared and fought for human rights, civil rights, human dignity, and law, order and justice."

Blacks form self-defense teams; cite police inaction

ATLANTA—Angered at the city's failure to protect their children, Black veterans and other groups have begun to organize armed self-defense patrols.

Israel Green, president of the Techwood Homes Tenants Association, told reporters that Mayor Maynard Jackson and police commissioner Lee Brown "haven't been protecting us. So now we'll have to protect ourselves."

"Wherever Black people live, that's where we'll be," explained Black Vietnam veteran Lonnie Malcolm.

Mayor Jackson declared he will not allow independent community patrols to operate in the city. He also called for more cops.

In a press conference two days after the March 15 antiracist protest here, Jackson also told residents to "lower their voices" and "stop trying to pin the blame" for the murder of twenty Black children on "any racial group."

Community activists responded angrily to the mayor's attack on self-

defense. "The Klan is arming themselves and conducting paramilitary training camps," said Chimurenga Jenga. "Why can't we exercise our constitutional rights to make sure our children are safe and in a healthy environment?"

Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Andreé Kahlmorgen said, "I fully support the right of the Black community to organize armed self-defense patrols. For more than a year children have been murdered without a single arrest by the police. Blacks have a right to protect themselves by any means necessary."

"Maynard Jackson says we should 'lower our voices.' He hasn't heard anything yet! The march we held on Sunday, and the organization of self-defense teams, are just the beginning of the kind of uproar he'll be hearing until the racist murderers in this city are swept off the streets."

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The Militant—8 weeks/\$2

From Harlem to San Francisco to Miami, anger is mounting at the wave of racist murders in Atlanta.

Why won't the cops catch the killers? How can Reagan send millions in weapons to El Salvador when Black children cannot safely walk the streets of Atlanta?

Each week the *Militant* brings you news and analysis and information on what you can do to help stop the killings.

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Expose cop cover-up in murder of Atlanta youth

By Cindy Jaquith

On February 6, Patrick Baltazar phoned the Atlanta police. He reported that a suspicious man had tried to lure him and a friend into a car.

Patrick and his friend gave the cops their names and addresses.

That was the last day Patrick was seen alive.

When his body was found a week later the police said nothing about the phone call Patrick had made to them.

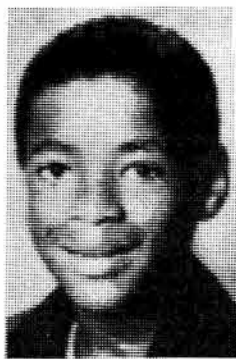
No one knew of his attempt to report a suspect in the wave of racist killings. And the cops apparently hoped it would stay that way.

But the cover-up in the Baltazar case was broken March 13 in a front-page article in the *Atlanta Journal*. A retired chief of the police homicide squad, W.K. Perry, released to the press part of a tape-recorded interview with Patrick's friend.

In the interview, the youth described how he and Patrick were walking along a road when a heavily-built man drove up and told the two to get into his car.

"Patrick started to the car. I grabbed him from behind," his friend recalled.

"I said, 'You don't know who that man is.'"



Patrick Baltazar: Why did cops keep his phone call a secret?

The man drove off, saying he would be back. "Then Patrick ran out and tried to get his tag number but we couldn't get it."

The two youths then called the police from a nearby pay phone. The cops said they would send someone out. But the youths were afraid the man would return so they left.

That was February 6. Patrick's body was found February 13.

His friend was never questioned by the police until March 10!

"Why did they wait until now to question Patrick's companion?" W.K. Perry asked.

"We do not know if that was the killer. But the point is the kids asked for help and did not get it."

"And then the Baltazar kid turns up dead."

Invoking the secrecy he claims is essential for the police investigation, Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown at first refused to comment on the Baltazar revelations.

Under pressure, the police finally admitted they had received a call from Patrick. *His call wasn't followed up because he called the wrong number, they said.* Instead of dialing the emergency hotline, according to the cops, Patrick called the special task force on the murders.

A black youth—in Atlanta!—calls the cops, says someone's after him, and the call is dismissed because it didn't reach the right office?

The youth is then found murdered, and the cops still keep mum?

His friend, an eyewitness to a suspect, isn't even contacted for a month?

What a telling indictment of an investigation that keeps turning up bodies and never a suspect!

Socialist candidates fly to Atlanta to join march

By Mohammed Oliver

ATLANTA—"I think unions should support the fight against racist killings," said Jim Little. A railroad worker and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, Little was speaking with Walter Cleveland, a Black worker.

"That's right," Cleveland said. "There are some people out there that don't realize what a union is. We have to support those people."

Both Little and Cleveland were participants in the March 15 protest against the racist murders of twenty Black children in this city. Cleveland's union—the Communications Workers of America Local 3263—helped to build the national action and mobilized workers at the Western Electric plant it organizes in nearby Norcross, Georgia, to participate.

Little was one of several SWP candidates who travelled here to join the protest march. Wells Todd, SWP candidate for mayor of New York, and Susan Wald, candidate for city council president, also came, as well as Cleveland socialist mayor candidate Lynda Joyce.

Little spoke with a contingent of workers from the Oxford Chemical plant here. These members of Teamsters Local 528 carried placards that read: "End Racist Terrorism—Atlanta, Buffalo, Greensboro, Miami."

An Oxford worker named Sylvester talked about the racist character of the killings.

"Look at the atmosphere of fear it creates in the Black community. The secrecy that surrounds the police investigation of the murders adds to this fear," Sylvester said. "The files should be open."

The big business press, Little noted, is

saying that the murdered Blacks were "hustlers."

"If a white kid sells newspapers," snapped Sammy Dillard, another Black Oxford worker, "they say he's a good worker. Black kids are hustling to help their parents out."

André Kahlmorgen, the SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta, explained to another Oxford worker why she supported the protest.

"Blacks and other workers need to mobilize to force the federal, state, and city governments to end the racist terror," Kahlmorgen said.

"It's getting hot," Kahlmorgen observed. "Black children need recreational facilities. Working parents and their children need free, twenty-four-hour childcare centers. The federal government should fund these measures. Washington should also fund the efforts of the Black community to defend itself through community patrols and organizing meetings."

"But," Kahlmorgen warned, "both the funds and the programs should be under the control of the Black community to ensure that the needs of Blacks are met."

Coleman Young, another Black Teamster from Oxford, agreed. "We beg money from Reagan," he said, "and he's sending about \$25 million to El Salvador."

Mike Verba was holding the banner for CWA Local 3263. Verba, originally from Detroit, said he had been home recently and saw the solidarity with the families of the slain and missing Atlanta children.

"I think the people need to get involved," the young white man told Kahlmorgen. "This here is a good demonstration," he said. "It shows support from around the country."

Nationwide rallies protest racist killings

By William Gottlieb

The weekend of March 15 brought a wave of actions in solidarity with the Black children of Atlanta. Some of these are described below.

Fort Lauderdale, Florida. A prayer vigil of over 3,000 was sponsored by the Golden Heights Church. Speakers included Yankees baseball star Reggie Jackson, Atlanta councilman Arthur Langford, and Rev. W.F. Washington, pastor of Golden Heights Church.

Miami. The Miami city council declared March 14 "Atlanta Awareness Day." A news conference was held on March 14 by Jerry Hunnicutt of the National Black Independent Political Party and William Perry of the Miami NAACP. The news conference was carried by all four major TV stations. A rally of 75 people was held in downtown Miami.

St. Louis. One thousand people attended a fund-raising meeting at the New Northside Memorial Baptist Church. Speakers included Rev. Joseph Lowery, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Harold Antoine, general manager of the St. Louis Human Development Corporation; and Wale Amusa of the Campaign for Human Dignity.

San Antonio. Two hundred Blacks marched in a March 14 Save the Children rally. Speakers included Denise Crawford, San Antonio Citizens to Save the Children; Mario Salas, Organization United for Eastside Development; and David Nieto, Committee for Justice for Santostoy. Tony Prince, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of San Antonio, participated in the action.

Fort Worth, Texas. A caravan of 500 cars, carrying 3,000 people, drove through the city March 14. A rally was addressed by L.B. George of Mt. Sinai Baptist Church, and city council member J.M. Bagsby. Bagsby called the slayings symptomatic of the events affecting Blacks nationwide.

Kansas City, Missouri. At Leeds General Motors Plant, workers on the night shift started handing out green ribbons on March 11. By Friday, March 13, ribbons were all over the plant, worn by Blacks and whites alike. The ribbons are beginning to spread to the day shift.

Rahway, New Jersey. At New Jersey's Rahway State Prison, inmates are wearing green ribbons. In a letter

to Newark West Ward Councilman Michael Battone, the inmates wrote, "We, the prisoners at Rahway, would like to express to you and the world our concern and feelings for the children that are missing and dead in Atlanta." The prisoners also scheduled a news conference on the racist killings.

Washington, D. C. On March 16 1500 people marched to express their support for the Atlanta children. Speakers asked why Reagan could only send \$1.5 million to aid the Atlanta investigation when he has \$25 million to spend in El Salvador. The speakers proclaimed it was marching time again in Washington.

Brooklyn, New York. About 400 people attended a special service for the murdered children of Atlanta on March 12. The service was held at the House of the Lord Pentecostal Church, where Rev. Herbert Daughtry, leader of the National Black United Front, is pastor.

Bloomington, Indiana. Seventy-five students organized by the Indiana University Black Student Union held a march in solidarity with the Atlanta action on March 15. Station wagons were also organized to go to the Atlanta demonstration.

Indianapolis. The Indianapolis Socialist Workers Party put a sign in its window saying, "Wear a green ribbon for the children of Atlanta. Free, available here." Five to ten people a day, mostly workers in nearby stores, have been picking up the ribbons.

San Francisco. On March 14, in pouring rain, 300 people rallied to express their solidarity with the Atlanta children.



Militant/Student Singer James Balanoff, United Steelworkers District 31 director, spoke at Operation PUSH memorial for Atlanta children March 14 in Chicago. Jesse Jackson, Joseph Lowery, and Alice Peurula, president of USWA Local 65 also spoke.

L.A. mayoral contender slams move to end busing

On March 16 the Los Angeles Board of Education voted that mandatory busing for desegregation will end April 10. The action was preceded by the March 11 refusal of the California Supreme Court to review a lower court decision that effectively threw out a desegregation order by Superior Court Judge Paul Egly.

The following statement was issued by Jim Little, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles.

* * *

The segregationist move by the Los Angeles Board of Education to end mandatory busing April 10 is an attack on basic rights of Black and Latino people. Unless reversed it will force Black and Latino students back into segregated, under-financed, and overcrowded schools.

Because of discrimination, many of these segregated schools have half schooldays all year round. They lack textbooks and facilities.

By comparison, the school board spends three times as much per pupil

on some white schools. Segregated, second-class schools condemn many Blacks and Latinos to a life-time of unemployment, or at best menial jobs at miserable wages. Actions like the school board's decision help create the atmosphere for racist crimes like the Atlanta killings.

Democratic Mayor Thomas Bradley has failed to lift a finger to counter the board's actions, just as he did nothing to bring about the desegregation plan in the first place.

The basic reason for Bradley's default is his membership in the Democratic Party. This big business party, like Reagan's Republicans, wants to push back Black and Latino rights.

There is resistance to turning the clock back. The United Teachers of Los Angeles opposed the board's decision. Earlier this year, the United Students Concerned led a fight against cutbacks in education funding.

What is needed is mobilization of the Black and Latino communities and the unions to fight for desegregation. The time has come to take the struggle out of the courtroom and onto the streets.

Harlem: huge outpouring for Atlanta's children

By Don Davis

NEW YORK—It was the largest demonstration in Harlem in years.

Ten thousand people marched to protest the killing of Black children in Atlanta. Thousands more lined the sidewalks in solidarity. Many had only heard about the action days before.

What brought them to the March 13 vigil was outrage at the continued murders and the cops' failure to stop them.

Patricia Wagner, an organizer of the action, summed up the anger as she told a rally following the march:

"They can come up with billions for guns, billions for Chrysler, billions to send people to El Salvador and for electronic surveillance equipment to spy on our people. But they can't find the murderer of twenty Black children."

The crowd, which filled the street and sidewalks for a city block, cheered when Wagner reminded them:

"Malcolm X said when the government proves itself unable to defend Black people and their property, then it's time to defend ourselves."

"We cannot depend on the police or the FBI because all too often they are co-conspirators."

Camille Bell and Willie Mae Mathis, mothers of two of the slain children, also spoke to the rally.

Most of the marchers were Black. There were many teen-agers, youth cadet groups and scouts in uniform, and parents with small children.



Many demonstrators brought their children. Hospital workers marched in union hats.

Most wore green ribbons and many carried candles or flashlights. Candles also flickered from apartment windows along the march route.

There were hand-lettered signs with slogans like "Save the Children" and "Kill Racism, Not Our Kids." Several people marched holding aloft the *Militant* with its headline, "Stop Racist Killings!"

Many said they did not believe enough was being done to stop the killings.

"It's been twenty months," said Marie Davis, a Harlem mother. "I'm no authority, but . . . twenty months? No one? They don't have any clues?" She shook her head.

A young man said, "I'm here to let them know I'm a registered voter, I'm a citizen of the United States, and I'm really mad about this."

Marchers and rally speakers linked the Atlanta killings with the recent police killings of Black youth in New York City and elsewhere.

A young woman named Shirley carried a placard saying "NY police: stop killing our children."

She pointed to the Atlanta authorities' unwillingness to investigate racist outfits like the Ku Klux Klan. "If they

want to find the white people doing it they should start with the KKK," she said.

The march was initiated by a few Harlem women and news of it spread first by word of mouth and leaflets, and later by Black radio stations. The National Black Independent Political Party helped publicize it.

The NAACP and the Brooklyn Black newspaper *Big Red* joined in a press conference with the organizers earlier in the week.

Among the unions participating were United Auto Workers District 65, Hospital Workers District 1199, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 420, which was active in efforts to stop the closing of Harlem's Sydenham Hospital.

Local 420 President James Butler told the *Militant* he did not think the Atlanta investigation should have to be financed by concerts like the one given by Sammy Davis and Frank Sinatra.

"Why should we have to raise money for protection?" Butler asked. "Atlanta is part of the United States. The federal government should bring in the troops immediately!"

Geraldine Miller, president of the Bronx chapter of the National Organization for Women, was also on the march. She said it was clear the Atlanta police were not doing all they could to stop the murders. "They claim not one clue," she said. "Utter nonsense. It's genocide."

A common theme among the marchers was that this protest should only be the beginning. "We could just keep on marching to Atlanta," said one protester.

Hezekiah Hughes, eighteen, carried a poster saying "March to Atlanta Now." He said "a big march" could force the federal government to take strong measures to solve the killings.

At the end of the rally, demonstrators again showed their desire for more action. With raised fists, they broke into a prolonged chant: "Organize and fight! Organize and fight!"

April 4 antiracist actions

April 4, the anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, will be a focus of antiracist actions.

The National Black United Front has called for protests against racist violence that day in several cities. For more information on NBUF's plans, call (212) 596-1991.

In Los Angeles, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other groups are planning a march and vigil against the

murders of Blacks in Atlanta.

In Milwaukee, the Martin Luther King Coalition, led by Black steelworkers, is building a protest against the Atlanta slayings and to demand that Dr. King's birthday be made a national holiday.

The Milwaukee coalition operates out of the offices of Smith Steelworkers, the local at the A.O. Smith plant. Other unions have endorsed the action and the AFL-CIO has printed up posters for the event.

NY socialists spur union solidarity with Atlanta

By Mark Friedman

NEW YORK—Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Wells Todd, a Black auto worker at the GM plant in Tarrytown, New York, has been distributing green ribbons and buttons saying "Stop Racist Attacks" to co-workers.

"On the first day we got out twenty buttons," Todd reports, "and in the next couple of days fifty more. The ribbons went like crazy, with hundreds of Black, Latino, and white workers proudly wearing them."

More than 1,000 'Militants' and 'Young Socialists' were gotten into the hands of demonstrators in Harlem and Atlanta. Thirty-one people bought 'Militant' subscriptions at the Atlanta march.

Todd's union, Local 664 of the United Auto Workers, passed a resolution expressing solidarity with the besieged Black community in Atlanta and endorsed the March 15 demonstration there. Auto workers organized to attend the demonstration in Harlem March 13. Todd also went to Atlanta for the March 15 action.

Racists in the GM plant, upset by this solidarity by union activists, put together a makeshift cross and affixed it to the front of a car going down the assembly line. Other workers were furious at this and responded by redoubling efforts to support the children of Atlanta.

At the Harlem vigil March 13 Todd and his supporters distributed thousands of campaign statements linking the racist violence in Atlanta to police brutality in New York. "Urge your trade union, community group, or church to speak out and organize anti-racist activities," the statement said. "Demand the racist killers—especially cops—be tracked down and prosecuted."

In New York's garment district, Diane Wang, SWP candidate for city council at large, reports "thousands of Blacks, whites, Salvadorans, Chinese, and Puerto Ricans are wearing green ribbons or cloth."

Wang, a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, works at Hartfield-Zody's. Nineteen workers in her shop have bought subscriptions to the *Militant* in the past few weeks.

Across the river, the Brooklyn Navy Yard is "a sea of green," according to Susan Wald, a pipefitter and socialist candidate for president of the city council. "Everybody in my crew is wearing the ribbons, as are many sailors," she said.

One union, Transport Workers Local 100, has put out its own button with a green ribbon attached. SWP comptroller candidate Raul Gonzalez, a transit worker, is helping distribute the buttons and a leaflet printed by the union (see box).

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY:

WEAR A GREEN RIBBON TO REMEMBER ATLANTA'S VICTIMS

We are appalled at the tragic situation in Atlanta, Georgia where 19 children are dead and two are still missing.

This gruesome situation -- the work of a mad, sinister person or persons -- must be brought to maximum public attention so that maximum effort is made toward the apprehension of the guilty.

The wearing of a green ribbon has been started as a way to memorialize the victims and to voice protest against the outrages.

TWU urges its members to join in this memorialization.

Local 100 will supply the green ribbon and green TWU buttons to affix it.

All Section and Division officers are urged to secure supplies of the ribbon and pins from the Vice President's office at Local Headquarters, 1980 Broadway, in Manhattan and see to it that they are available at all work locations for our members' use.

TWU WILL SUPPLY THE RIBBON

TWU URGES YOU TO WEAR IT

Leaflet distributed by New York Transport Workers Local 100

Dangers of 'low level' radiation hit at rally

By Stu Singer

PITTSBURGH—Some 130 people rallied March 13 at the YWCA here in support of the March 28 Harrisburg demonstration in opposition to nuclear power and to support the coal miners.

The crowd included coal miners and steelworkers from the western Pennsylvania area.

The featured speaker was Jane Lee, a farmer from the Three Mile Island area who has become one of the most effective educators on the effects of radiation and the government cover-up of TMI.

Also speaking was Dr. Ernest Sternglass, professor of radiation physics at the University of Pittsburgh. He has just published an important book on the dangers of low-level radiation: "Secret Fallout—Low-Level Radiation from Hiroshima to Three Mile Island."

Shake the government

Joe Jurczak, Pennsylvania COMPAC (Coal Miners Political Action Committee) director for the United Mine Workers Union also spoke, explaining why that powerful union is helping lead this action.

Jane Lee is on a national tour to build the March 28 demonstration. "I want to see millions in Harrisburg," she said. "We have to shake the government like it's never been shaken before. We have got to turn this thing around."

The reports by Sternglass and Lee about the effects of radiation were shocking. What they talk about is not simply the danger of accidents, like the one at Three Mile Island. They also explain how low-level radiation, a permanent feature of every step of the nuclear-power process, is killing and crippling now. And the main victims are infants.

The Mine Workers' Joe Jurczak explained how the questions of nuclear safety and jobs for coal miners were linked. Coal mining is a very dangerous job which the union is fighting to make safer, he said. But, he explained, the dangers of coal mining are not a threat to society as nuclear power is. Children are not the main victims of coal accidents. And coal accidents can be prevented, unlike the destruction of human life and health from nuclear power plants.

Nuke plants on top of coal

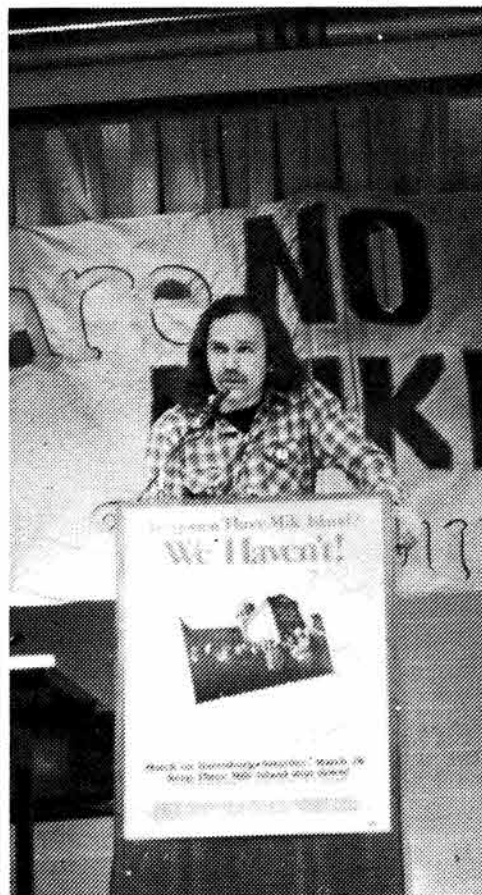
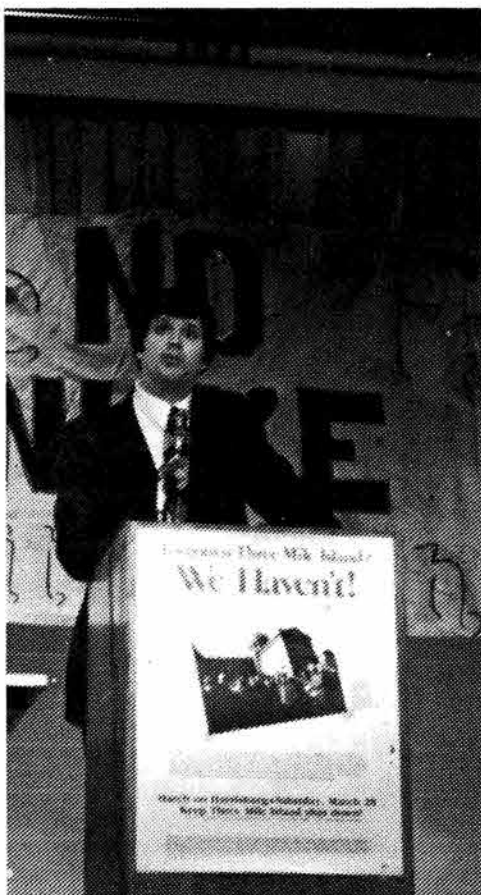
Jurczak pointed out the development of nuclear power has been intentionally directed against coal. A large number of nuclear plants have been constructed in places like Illinois and Pennsylvania, states with two of the highest reserves of coal. "And that's not an accident. About the only thing about nuclear power that isn't," Jurczak said.

He reported that when the Shippingport nuclear plant was built in western Pennsylvania, they had to cut through a seam of coal to lay the foundation. Three Mile Island is fifty miles from seams of anthracite coal eighty feet thick. Anthracite, which was mined mostly in eastern Pennsylvania, can be burned cleanly.

But anthracite mining is almost extinct. Tens of thousands of miners are out of work, while millions of dollars more are being poured into Three Mile Island.

"We have this President who wants to take things away from poor people. Things they've won," Jurczak said. "A number of our members had something to say about this earlier in the week in Washington. Reagan espouses a free market economy. He claims the nuclear industry can stand on its own feet. But it looks like there will be a bailout of Metropolitan Edison, owner of Three Mile Island."

"Reagan says he is against government regulations. Well, why doesn't he repeal the Price-Anderson Act? [It guarantees government insurance backing for nuclear plants because private insurance companies refuse to take the risk.] Why not cut funding for the NRC? See if



'On to Harrisburg': Jane Lee, Mine Workers' Joe Jurczak, and Tony Novosel of USWA at rally to support March 28.

Militant photos by Stu Singer and Keith Jones

the nuclear industry can stand on its own feet."

'You have to fight'

Jurczak ended by pointing out, "the only way miners ever got anything was by fighting for it. Fight against nuclear power. Come to Harrisburg March 28."

Jane Lee reported her observations of farm animals near the Three Mile Island plant; the steady increase in birth defects and diseases from the time the plant opened, and the sharp increases after the accident.

She described the toll it has taken on the mental health of people in the area, and the lies and cover-ups by government and utility officials.

Lee said she and her sister examined public health records in the area near TMI. They found five times the national average of hyperthyroidism. In Lancaster County, which is south of TMI along the Susquehanna River, they found a huge increase in crib deaths and stillbirths.

She described the meeting in Middletown when the NRC announced the venting of 58,000 curies of radioactive krypton gas. "The NRC members were almost lynched," the fifty-seven year old farmer explained.

Radioactive scrap

Tony Novosel, recording secretary of Steelworkers Local 13874, also spoke. His local is one of a growing number in the Steelworkers union that support the March 28 demonstration. He explained the dangers of radioactive metal being used as scrap, a proposal now being considered by the NRC.

He said 31,000 metric tons are being considered for use as scrap now, and much larger quantities in the future.

Scrap metal is used in producing new steel. Slag from the steel-making process is used in road beds. This means a threat to the steelworkers and others involved in handling the scrap. It endangers everyone using products made from the steel, driving over the roads, and even users of iron tonics which are supposed to ease anemia.

Concern for children

"Shut nuclear plants now and forever," Novosel urged. "On to Harrisburg!"

There was a moment of silence during the meeting to protest the murder of Black children in Atlanta, Georgia. Many of those present wore green ribbons.

A speaker from the National Organization for Women from Beaver County, Pennsylvania, reported the decision by NOW's National Board to support March 28. Beaver County, north of

Pittsburgh, is the site of the Shippingport reactor, now closed, and the Beaver Valley I, operating sporadically. Beaver Valley II is under construction. NOW is part of the fight to close them down.

During the talks, particularly Jane Lee's, the room was very quiet. People listened intently. The quiet was disturbed once by a baby crying, which seemed to underline the deadly seriousness of what the meeting was about.

Reagan to S. Africa: U.S. will be 'helpful'

By Ernest Harsch

The new administration in Washington, President Reagan said in a televised interview March 3, should be "helpful" to the South African authorities.

He added—in direct response to the African liberation movements and other anti-apartheid forces who have been demanding an end to all U.S. aid to the racist white minority regime—"Can we abandon a country that has stood beside us in every war we have fought? A country that, strategically, is essential to the free world in its production of minerals that we all must have?"

Reagan's message was clear: the apartheid regime in Pretoria could count on continued U.S. backing.

The interview was not the only signal of Washington's intentions in southern Africa. Just three days later, the U.S. representative to the United Nations abstained on a General Assembly vote calling for trade sanctions against South Africa because of its continued illegal occupation of Namibia. Washington has made it clear that it will veto any similar resolution in the UN Security Council.

Among Reagan's appointees, several have already made their support for the South African regime public.

One is Ernest Lefever, who has been named assistant secretary of state for "human rights and humanitarian affairs." He has publicly attacked those who have criticized the South African regime. The research center that he founded—called the Ethics and Public

Policy Center—is partly funded by South African sources.

Another is Chester A. Crocker, a member of the conservative Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, who is now the assistant secretary of state for African affairs. In an article in the January-February issue of *Africa Report*, Crocker referred to the South African regime as "an integral and important element of the Western global economic system. Historically, South Africa is by its nature part of us."

Reaction among the white rulers of South Africa to Reagan remarks was jubilant. A headline in the Afrikaans-language *Die Vaderland* declared the day after Reagan's interview, "U.S. Will Not Leave South Africa in the Lurch."

Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha welcomed Reagan's remarks, and noted that South Africa's strategic value to the West rested on the "maintenance of civilized value standards"—a euphemism for continued white rule over the country's Black majority.

Reagan's remarks indicated a willingness to back the apartheid regime more openly and to ease up on the pro forma criticisms of apartheid that U.S. diplomats must sometimes make.

But Reagan will also have to be mindful of the likely reaction to it. As Chester Crocker noted, "In political terms, South Africa is not embraceable without our incurring massive diplomatic damage and risking severe domestic polarization."

From Intercontinental Press

UAW local hits Nazi attack on SWP candidate

By John Wood

DETROIT—At a March 6 news conference Elizabeth Ziers, Socialist Workers candidate in Michigan's Fourth Congressional District, demanded that police investigate the Nazi and Klan threats that she has received since launching her campaign on February 27.

Ziers, a member of United Auto Workers Local 600, is running for the congressional seat that was vacated by David Stockman when he became Reagan's budget director. Gerald Carlson, an avowed racist and former Nazi Party member, is running in the Republican primary for the seat.

Ziers has received death threats from avowed Nazi-Klan supporters.

On March 3 a firebomb was thrown outside her garage while she was inside. Later that night a swastika was spray-painted on the garage door.

Bob King, financial secretary of UAW Local 600, spoke at the news conference for the local's executive council.

"Although the local union does not take an official position in support of the Socialist Workers Party or the members of that party that run for office," King said, "we certainly condemn and abhor the Nazi Party and

the Ku Klux Klan and the things they represent.

"We are here today representing the whole local union and its sympathy and support of Elizabeth in her efforts."

The Detroit police have done nothing to find those responsible for the attacks on Ziers. The Socialist Workers campaign committee sent a letter to Carlson on March 6 demanding that he direct his supporters to stop terrorist attacks.

"It's no coincidence that at the same time a GOP Nazi feels bold enough to run for office, Nazi and Klansmen are attacking me, and Black children in Atlanta are being murdered in cold blood," Ziers said.

"Ronald Reagan and David Stockman are taking a meat cleaver to every gain that has been won by the working class in social services since the 1930s. They are the ones who launched the attack on Black people and working people in this country, and the racists are emboldened."

Other speakers at the press conference were Russell Belant, Detroit Committee Against Registration and the Draft; Detroit attorney Abdeen Jabara; and Dr. John Dewitt, a professor at Wayne State University.

Radical wins Vt. election

By Peter Thierjung

BURLINGTON, Vt.—By a twelve vote margin, Bernard Sanders, an independent candidate widely known as a socialist, was elected mayor here March 3. Burlington, with a population of 40,000, is Vermont's major city.

Sanders defeated five-term mayor Gordon Paquette, a Democrat.

Taxes were a big issue. Sanders declared: "The business community in Burlington, the banks, the insurance companies, the real estate developers, the telephone company, the larger department stores, must be asked immediately to accept a larger share of the tax burden."

Paquette had proposed a sixty-five cent tax increase on home owners, threatening "drastic cuts" in city services if it was not approved. During the campaign he blasted Sanders as a "Robin Hood."

Sanders won support from many community groups, especially low-income housing tenants.

His campaign promised more pay and other support to the local police. The patrolman's association backed Sanders.

A ward-by-ward breakdown showed that he got the bulk of his vote in working-class and poor neighborhoods.

At a news conference after his election, Sanders said he would seek to

involve the city's union members, university professors, students, low-income people, community groups, youth, and elderly in a mayor's advisory council. He stated, "The decisions in this city are not going to be made in the offices of the banks and big business anymore."

A businessman who wished not to be identified told the Boston *Herald* that "if Sanders succeeds in putting over his tax proposals, they [the rich] will shut this business community down." Sanders labelled the threats "black-mail."

Sanders was chairperson of the Liberty Union Party of Vermont until 1977. He quit, saying that the party had broken promises to be active in "struggles of the working people against the banks and corporations who own Vermont and the nation."

In 1980, Sanders supported Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley. He was one of three electors for the SWP ticket on the Vermont ballot. In a press release during the presidential race, Sanders said, "I fully support the SWP's continued defense of the Cuban revolution, their opposition to FBI harassment and their involvement in the struggles of minority groups around the country."

N.Y. hospital strike

By Nelson González

"We have given up the raises and are striking just for money to provide the kind of care that should be the patient's right and not just a privilege," declared Dr. Robert Gelb. This summed up the issues in the strike of 2,500 doctors at eight New York City municipal and private hospitals that began March 17.

The walkout, called by the Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR), took place when the Health and Hospitals Corporation (HHC) refused to consider CIR proposals to upgrade patient care standards.

"We need more aides, messengers, and elevator operators. For eleven years we've tried to address these issues," said CIR president Jonathan House.

House explained the CIR wants writ-

ten into its contract the right to bargain over the number of nurses and technicians, as well as the type of equipment each hospital must have. The aim is to reduce chronic shortages of essential personnel and equipment.

Many interns have expressed outrage over management practices requiring doctors to spend much time doing non-medical chores that should be handled by orderlies. These positions often aren't filled because of the Koch administration's hiring restrictions.

To the city government's contention that patients may suffer because of the strike, Gelb replies, "They will suffer more if we do not strike."

The union targeted eight hospitals it regards as being the worst. "We have gotten tremendous support from our co-workers," House said.



Campaigning
for new
readers

Initial reports on the first days of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* single copy sales drive indicate increasing interest in socialist ideas.

Coverage of the growing outrage over the racist murders of Atlanta children has aroused particular interest.

Cleveland socialists sold all but two of their 110 papers Saturday. In San Diego, socialists report it is easier than ever to sell the *Militant*; they sold sixty on Saturday. In Los Angeles, ninety were sold, and in Pittsburgh 173.

Betsy Farley, whose sales team in Pittsburgh's Black community sold forty-five papers on Saturday, said, "I would no sooner get into a conversation with one person about the *Militant* than others would come up wanting the paper."

Miners' response

More than one-third of the subscriptions sold by Morgantown socialists have been to coal miners. *Militant* supporters in St. Louis sold nearly half of their subscriptions in the coal fields of southern Illinois.

Two teams of socialist campaigners completed the first of three weeks on the road. One is building support in the Harrisburg area for the labor-sponsored March 28 demonstration for the miners and against nuclear power, as well as winning new readers for the *Militant*, *Young Socialist*, and *PM*.

The team sold 115 *Militants*, sixty-seven *Young Socialists*, two *PMs*, and fifteen subscriptions.

At a Bethlehem Steel plant in Steelton, twenty-two papers were sold at a shift change. Nineteen were sold to workers at Hershey Chocolate, along with one subscription.

At Harrisburg Community College, forty-eight *Militants*, thirty-eight *YSs*, and eight subscriptions were sold. Students and faculty plan a feeder march to join the March 28 antinuclear action.

In West Virginia, a team of three socialists spent four days last week going door-to-door in Charleston and mining communities to the south. They sold twenty-three subscriptions and forty-seven single copies of the *Militant*.

The team is in Beckley, West Virginia, this week, where they plan to visit the media to help publicize the upcoming SWP and YSA trial against government spying.

S.F. women's rights action

In San Francisco, 5,000 supporters of women's rights, who rallied March 8 following a march of 1,500, bought thirty-seven subscriptions and 130 single copies of the *Militant*. Socialists also set up a table that sold \$500 worth of literature.

The accompanying chart lists the goals that branches of the Socialist Workers Party have taken on for this drive to increase the circulation and visibility of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Next week we will publish the results of the first full week of single copy sales.

—Sandi Sherman

Socialists set new sales goals

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	PM GOAL	TOTAL GOAL	AREA	MILITANT GOAL	PM GOAL	TOTAL GOAL
Albuquerque	95	15	110	Morgantown	110	0	110
Atlanta	100	0	100	New Orleans	85	0	85
Baltimore	90	0	90	Newark	125	25	150
Birmingham	125	0	125	Philadelphia	120	15	135
Boston	150	20	170	Phoenix	110	25	135
Brooklyn	220	30	250	Piedmont	100	0	100
Capital District	105	5	110	Pittsburgh	245	5	250
Charleston	30	0	30	Portland	70	0	70
Chicago	175	25	200	Salt Lake City	100	8	108
Cincinnati	75	0	75	San Antonio	70	20	90
Cleveland	100	7	107	San Diego	90	20	110
Dallas	55	35	90	San Francisco	120	30	150
Denver	90	10	100	San Jose	90	35	125
Detroit	170	5	175	Seattle	125	0	125
Gary	70	5	75	St. Louis	100	0	100
Houston	100	50	150	Tidewater	100	0	100
Indianapolis	125	5	130	Toledo	70	0	70
Iron Range	50	0	50	Twin Cities	155	10	165
Kansas City	115	10	125	Washington, DC	120	30	150
Los Angeles	215	60	275				
Louisville	80	0	80	TOTALS	4,800	600	5,400
Manhattan	200	75	275				
Miami	70	10	80				
Milwaukee	90	10	100				

*Not reporting: Oakland

Government finally says what it thinks

By Nelson Blackstock

Not much is known about Charles Mandigo. But what he did last month, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance believe, will have a major impact on the trial of their suit against the government, which opens in New York in April.

Charles Mandigo is an FBI agent. He seems to live in Washington, D.C. On February 18 he signed an affidavit that was submitted to the court.

Two weeks ago the *Militant* printed a major section of that affidavit. In it Mandigo answered Judge Thomas Griesa's request that the FBI turn over their list of alleged crimes committed by six leaders of the SWP.

In a commentary George Breitman ridiculed the superslueths for bungling facts that could be documented with an afternoon in a public library.

On the surface the Mandigo affidavit looks "completely useless," as Judge Griesa said after reading it. But there's more there than at first meets the eye.

The truth is that the appearance of the Mandigo document takes us closer to the heart of the fundamental questions raised by the socialist suit than any event since it was filed in 1973.

The judge, remember, asked the FBI for a list of crimes. And what did they come up with? Not much, it seemed. Oh, we did learn that Andrew Pulley was fined for going AWOL from the Army in 1968. But this sort of stuff can hardly justify a forty-year-long multi-million-dollar operation.

The bulk of the Mandigo affidavit consisted of things like: Farrell Dobbs "was re-elected to the National Committee of the SWP at the November, 1945, convention." Jack Barnes was "National Chairman of the YSA in 1965." Joseph Hansen "was a member of the National Committee, SWP." Carl Skoglund "was a charter member of the SWP."

It may seem as if the FBI couldn't come up with much, so it added this stuff as padding.

But it's only when you realize that *these were in fact the actual crimes in the government's view*—things like "member of the National Committee, SWP"—that the real meaning of the Mandigo affidavit starts to become clear.

In a section of the document not printed in the *Militant*, Mandigo cites the legal justification for spying on the SWP. He lists several statutes and executive orders, the most important being the Smith Act.

Membership illegal

The Smith Act seeks to make membership in the SWP illegal. And, at times, it can succeed.

If you don't believe it talk to Farrell Dobbs or one of the others who spent time behind bars in the 1940s, convicted of violating the Smith Act.

If belonging to the SWP is against the law, then why are members walking the streets today?

To answer that question you have to first look at where the suit fits into the recent past of American politics—as well as to where it fits into what is looming on the horizon.

Through the years of Vietnam and Watergate a lot of things began to become unstuck for the ruling class. They've since spent the better part of a decade trying to put them back together.

Essentially, the ruling class rules by illusions. During these years some of the illusions became tarnished.

Central to the illusions through which they maintain their power is the notion that this is a democracy guided by a spirit of fair play in which everybody has a say.

Watergate gave working people a glimpse into the subterranean regions of class rule. It's an area they normally keep out of sight. This is where you'll find the Smith Act.

The first mention of the Smith Act came during a hearing last December. When Judge Griesa seemed a bit puzzled, the government lawyer said, "It's part of the mustier version of your books, I'm sure, your Honor."

It may be musty, but it's still on the books. And that's where they want it, ready to be dusted off when they need it again.

The Smith Act was passed when the ruling class was getting ready to take the country into World War II. Wars are not a pleasant feature of class rule.

The Smith Act is pretty ugly stuff. On its face, it's obviously unconstitutional. It's hard to square with the illusion of fair play and everybody having a say.

The Smith Act makes no bones about it. Its purpose is not only to make it against the law to get rid of the government—an idea at odds with what the founders of this country did—it makes it against the law to let

But when it was over, a new war began, the cold war. That's when they went after the CP.

This was the domestic expression of moves to contain communism the world over. It meant trying to halt the colonial revolution, and shoring up the local ruling classes in Europe.

At home it meant housebreaking the labor movement. The first of the new Smith Act convictions came in 1949. Like the Rosenberg executions four years later, they were designed to send a message: Keep your mouth shut, don't rock the boat, or, who knows, something like this might happen to you.

When the appeal got to the Supreme Court, the convictions were upheld. But as the fifties rolled on, and new convictions reached the court, things began to change.

The atmosphere in the country was shifting, primarily under the impact of the rising civil rights movement. Sensi-

particular time lies in developments that began five years ago.

A new era

By 1976 the ruling class was ready to put Watergate and all the rest behind them. Gerald Ford had pardoned Richard Nixon, and before long Jimmy Carter would replace Ford.

In March new guidelines came down from the FBI. These would guarantee an end to the evils of the past, or so they said.

On September 13, 1976, the attorney general announced an end to the FBI "investigation" of the SWP and YSA.

Behind these moves was a calculated plan to make people think that a genuine change was taking place.

The SWP had filed its suit at the height of Watergate, in 1973.

Impressed by this legal challenge to Watergate-type crimes, others filed suits modeled after the SWP's.

The government's line now became to settle these suits out of court. Over the years many have been settled. In return, the FBI promised to end the bad things they had done in the past, or so it appeared. But it was all sleight of hand. They had to appear to be giving in to reinforce the illusions.

When you read what they were really saying, you discovered that the FBI was promising absolutely nothing. It was a hoax.

Things were rolling along pretty much as the government hoped until October 1980. That's when it became clear that the SWP was refusing to settle on the terms they were offering.

"It came as a big surprise to them," said Larry Siegle, who represented the SWP in a meeting with Justice Department lawyers in Washington. "You could see it on their faces. Up until then they thought we were just driving a hard bargain. And they were ready to make relatively big financial concessions to get this thing out of the way."

"But the idea that we were not going to settle, that we were going to take it to trial, that is something they had not seriously considered."

The government now faced a new problem. By not letting them get away with what they were proposing, the socialists were blowing the whistle on the government's whole strategy. The government would now have to go into open court and defend its policies in regard to the SWP. What would that defense be?

Up to now the case had revolved around the most patently illegal actions of the FBI. There had been headline-making disclosures about Cointelpro—the FBI's carefully constructed plots, sanctioned at the highest level, to disrupt legitimate political activity. And about FBI burglaries, involving ninety-two breakins at the New York SWP offices alone.

Unusual things

There had been important political victories. These crimes had been exposed before the eyes of millions.

It seemed to many as though the case were limited to these matters.

But once it became clear that the government was to be forced to provide legal justification for the entire operation against the socialists, it was a whole new ball game.

In the following weeks some unusual things began to happen.

For the first time, on November 18, Assistant U.S. Attorney Edward G. Williams referred to the SWP's "illegal acts" at a pretrial hearing. This was when the judge ordered the FBI to produce a list of these acts, resulting in the Mandigo affidavit.

Also in November we saw the attempted firing of five workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard on the basis that they were suspected members of the SWP. Documents produced under court order uncovered a Cointelpro-style operation.

Is it against the law to be a socialist?

anybody know you might be thinking about it.

To accomplish this, the Smith Act employs the old standby of turning the criminal into the victim and the victim into the criminal. It tries to ban opposition to capitalist rule by smearing opponents as "advocates" of "violence."

The Smith Act is an anti-sedition law. It makes mere advocacy of certain ideas illegal.

Such laws are not normally used except in times of war. Having enshrined it on the books in preparation for sending hundreds of thousands of Americans to their deaths, they began by using it against the most farsighted section of the working class.

The Minneapolis Teamsters and the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were voicing most clearly the interests of workers as the capitalists began beating the drums of war.

Eighteen leaders of the SWP and Teamsters were charged, tried, convicted, and imprisoned under the Smith Act.

Communist Party

They didn't use the Smith Act against the Communist Party during the war. There were no better patriots at the time.

tive to the new moods and what the ruling class could get away with, the high court tailored its decisions accordingly.

Between 1957 and 1961 decisions were handed down reversing the convictions of some CP members. The act was reinterpreted in such a way as to make convictions more difficult. This helped deflate mounting pressure to repeal the whole thing.

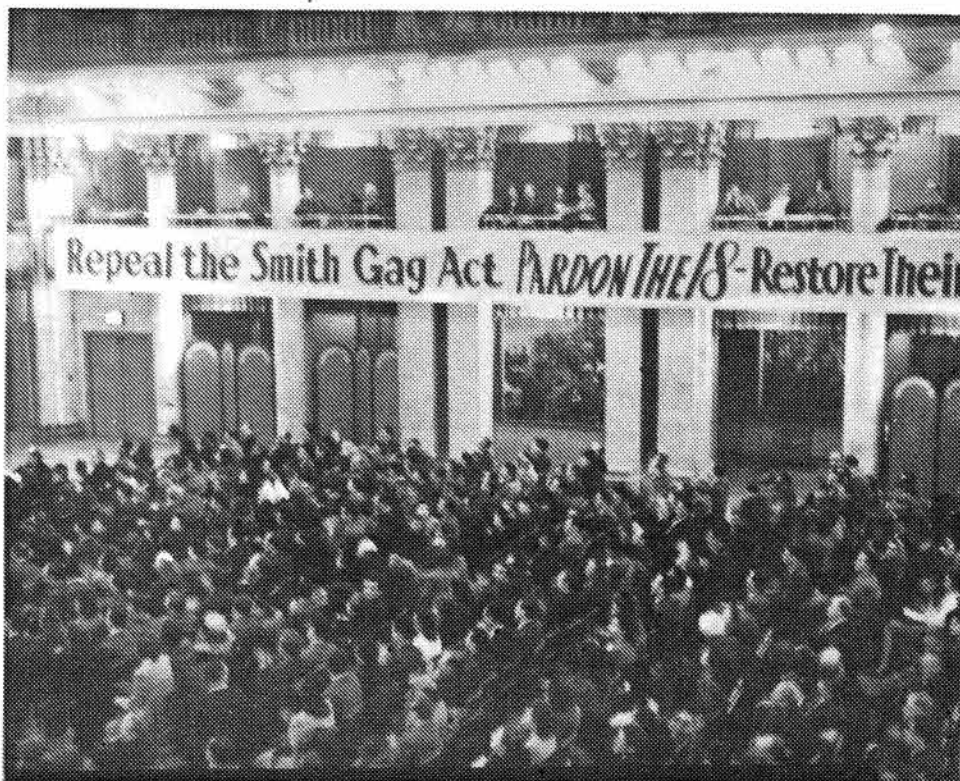
In his *Teamster Bureaucracy*, Farrell Dobbs explains it this way:

"This thought-control device has thereby been kept alive. So it continues to present a statutory medium through which people can be prosecuted, in violation of the Bill of Rights, on charges of 'advocacy' aimed at 'eventual' overthrow of the government by force and violence; and to serve that purpose the law can be given all the necessary teeth by judicial fiat, whenever the capitalist overlords so desire."

Over the years a myth has been created—the myth that the Smith Act is dead. But the truth is that it is still very much alive.

Now, twenty years after the last court ruling and forty years after the first prosecutions, the Smith Act is coming to the fore again.

The reason this is happening at this



Mass meeting protests 1941 conviction of eighteen socialists and unionists under the Smith Act.

It was at a hearing on these firings that Williams first mentioned the Smith Act. It was also where the government first spoke of "sensitive industries." (More on that later.)

In December the government had to submit an outline of its defense strategy for the coming trial. That's when they came out with a wholesale proclamation of their right and intention to spy on, harass, and deport socialists—or, really, anybody else they want to.

In December and January fifteen workers were fired at Lockheed in Georgia, charged with "falsifying" their job applications. But secret company documents proved that through collusion with the FBI they were actually fired for being suspected socialists.

Then, in late February, the Mandigo document appeared.

In addition to asking for a list of "illegal acts," the judge also asked the FBI to provide legal grounds for their investigation of the SWP and YSA.

Besides the Smith Act and several other statutes, the FBI bases its anti-SWP program on executive order 10450. First issued by President Truman in 1947, it established a loyalty program under which the government moved to purge "sensitive industries" of suspected "subversives." It is a vicious weapon against labor.

When the government talks of "sensitive industries," they mean much the same places the socialists had in mind when they made their turn to industry a while ago.

Under this executive order the infamous "attorney general's list" was set up. It proscribed dozens of organizations. To be a member of any of them could bar you from federal employment.

Interestingly, while in 1974 Nixon made a big to-do about abolishing the attorney general's list, he left its foundation, executive order 10450, intact. Like the Smith Act, it lies in wait to be used when needed.

Underpinnings

By driving through to the end with their suit, the socialists are now confronting the shrouded underpinnings of the capitalist state.

They entered this area before, in 1978. Attorney General Griffin Bell was then ready to go to jail rather than turn over the names of some two-bit stool pigeons hired to pose as members of the SWP and YSA.

This is the area of "informer privileges," "executive privilege," and "state secrets." You won't find any mention of these things in the Constitution. Ordinarily they keep them under wraps. But they are essential to class rule.

The bourgeoisie can rule without a Constitution or without a Bill of Rights. They do it today in many countries. But nowhere can they rule without state secrets and informers.

The socialists are now forcing the government to come out and say what they really believe. That is the meaning of the Mandigo affidavit.

The Smith Act was passed to ban parties whose purpose it is to put another class in power. The SWP is such an organization.

In court the socialists will explain the Marxist ideas on which they base themselves—the ideas that the government wants to suppress. They will also press forward in forcing the government to reveal where it really stands.

What the socialists are now in effect moving toward is re-trying the Smith Act case of 1941. They are going to ask the court to rule that the government cannot use the Smith Act—or any of the other thought-control laws or edicts—as a basis for its investigation of the SWP and YSA.

Such a ruling would in practice render the Smith Act unconstitutional. If a law that seeks to ban revolutionary ideas can't be applied to the SWP, it can hardly be applied to anyone else.

A victory would be a blow in defense of every union or Black activist taking a stand against what the government is doing.

'Not worth writing down'

Judge scoffs at FBI's crime list

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—Judge Thomas Griesa condemned the FBI's Mandigo affidavit as "completely useless" at a March 9 pretrial hearing.

Such hearings are being held to prepare for the trial of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the government.

An affidavit signed by FBI agent Charles Mandigo was submitted to the court February 23. It lists alleged crimes committed by six leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Judge Griesa ordered the list prepared after a government lawyer asserted that the FBI had evidence of "loads of illegal acts" by the socialists.

"It was not worth writing down," Griesa said. "The only use would be to say that you have nothing that you can talk about as far as actual criminal acts or anything like that, since the 1940s." In 1941 several leaders of the SWP were framed up and convicted under the notorious Smith Act.

"This whole exercise in my view has turned out to be a waste of time," Griesa said. "We waited weeks and weeks and weeks, and we get an affidavit with a lot of rhetoric [meaning alleged statements by socialists], a lot of quotations from public sources, and a lot of history, which anybody could go to the library and find out."

"The real questions that we were waiting with bated breath to know was

if the FBI had any evidence of any illegal activity by these people," the judge continued, "or threatened illegal activity, or attempted illegal activity, or planned illegal activity."

"If it was just going to be a matter of quoting that rhetoric, we have had that rhetoric around for a long time. We didn't need to get some typist to type all that stuff up again," Griesa said.

The Mandigo affidavit claimed the FBI had evidence of crimes that, as classified information, could not be mentioned in public. But they would, they said, reveal the evidence "in camera," or privately to the judge alone.

But the judge rejected this. "The government can't make any case by proving it in camera to me," he said. "I am not going to receive it."

Similarly, Griesa said the government would have to name any sources providing the basis for allegations in the affidavit.

This has bearing on charges such as the claim that SWP member Andrew Pulley said, "... ideally the GIs should take up their guns and shoot the officers, and violence was to be used when the anti-war involvement had the active support of the majority of GIs."

The FBI source for such "quotes" is doubtless paid stool pigeons, who have a habit of making them up. The FBI has a firm policy of keeping their identity secret.



JUDGE THOMAS GRIESA

JACOBS/MILITANT

Douglas Fraser issues statement supporting suit



Douglas Fraser, UAW president

United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser, a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund, has issued a statement of support for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government spying and harassment.

Fraser, the first president of an international labor union to endorse the socialist suit, said, "The fact that the causes espoused by a specific party may be unpopular or controversial should have no bearing on its constitutional right to operate."

"Police state tactics are not only unconstitutional but are abhorrent to the spirit of a free and democratic country and should not be tolerated."

The Political Rights Defense Fund, an organization building support for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit, has announced a list of additional sponsors.

Included on the list are Mary Alice Theiler, president of the National Lawyers Guild; Jerry Gordon, a leader of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment; Elizabeth Holtzman, former U.S. Congresswoman; Ernest Goodman, a prominent lawyer in Detroit; and Morris Kight, a leader of the gay rights movement in Los Angeles.

'The fact that the causes espoused by a specific party may be unpopular or controversial should have no bearing on its constitutional right to operate.'

Douglas Fraser
UAW president

ILWU, IAM members hit Ga. firings

Letters, telegrams, and petitions continue to land on Robert Ormsby's desk. Trade unionists, lawyers, church leaders, and students have demanded that the president of Lockheed-Georgia Company rehire the fifteen members of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709 who were fired because of their political beliefs.

Petitions signed by six members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Seattle and four members of Seattle IAM Local 751-C have been sent.

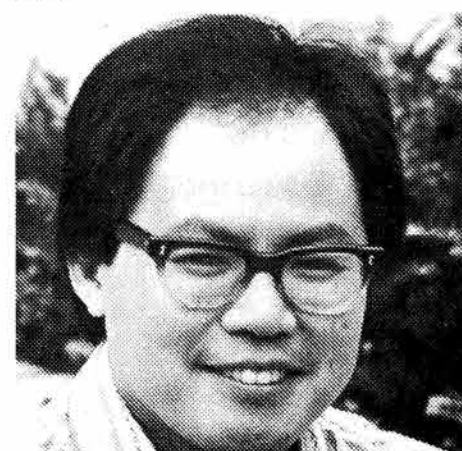
Carson Bennett, president of American Federation of Teachers Local 3153* in Muncie, Indiana, sent a letter on February 26.

Patrick Lacefield from the Democratic County Committee, New York County, sent a letter on February 14 protesting the dismissals.

Dr. Ben Munson, a physician in Rapid City, South Dakota, sent a mailgram to Ormsby on February 25 insisting that the fifteen workers be reinstated.

Rev. Timothy Boal of the United Methodist Church in Indianapolis, Indiana, sent a letter on February 22.

*Organizations listed for identification only.



Milton Chee, one of fifteen fired Lockheed workers fighting for their jobs.

Response to British gov't betrayal

Irish prisoners resume hunger strike

By Gerry Foley

BELFAST—More than 8,000 people marched through the heart of the Catholic ghetto here March 1 to express their support for Irish nationalist political prisoners.

Contingent after contingent marched by behind bright banners. The chants rose: "One, two, three, four, open up the H-Block door; five, six, seven, eight, open up the Armagh gate."

The men held in the infamous H-Blocks of Long Kesh prison, and the women in Armagh jail, have suffered years of mistreatment at the hands of the British authorities. A fifty-three-day hunger strike by seven H-Block prisoners was ended last December only after the British promised substantial concessions.

Now, however, the Thatcher government has reneged on its promises and the prisoners have initiated a new hunger strike. The March 1 demonstration coincided with the renewal of the hunger strike.

Jim Gibney of Sinn Féin, the political arm of the Provisional republican movement, was the first speaker at the March 1 rally. He spoke about Bobby Sands, the commanding officer of the H-Block prisoners, who has begun the hunger strike. Sands will be joined later by other prisoners as necessary.

The prisoners have vowed that they will remain on hunger strike until their demands for political status are met or until they starve to death.

"Those prisoners," Gibney said, "do not have a death wish any more than you or I. Bobby Sands is not unique. He wants to live to be an old man. But like many others he has faced the challenge. . . .



H-Block protest in Dublin, November 1980

"The British government has thrown down the gauntlet to the prisoners. . . ."

Many here fear that Sands will have to give his life before the campaign for political status wins.

British rulers blamed

Even the *Irish Press*, the newspaper of Dublin's ruling Fianna Fáil party, which opposed the resumption of the hunger strike, admitted March 2:

"The British government has reneged on the agreement that followed the ending of the last hunger strike. Let there be no doubt about that. The undertaking was that if the men would take steps to conform to prison regulations, these would be matched by concessions toward their demands for civilian clothing, recreation, education, visits, etc. The prisoners made the first

move, but the concessions were refused or haggled over."

As the new hunger strike begins, the prisoners face a solid block against them by the British imperialists and the neocolonialist Irish bourgeoisie and the Irish Catholic clergy.

At the end of the last strike such figures as John Hume of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, Bishop Daly of Derry, and the Primate of Ireland, Cardinal O Fiaich, brought heavy moral pressure to bear on the prisoners, urging them to compromise. Now when the British have obviously betrayed the prisoners, these same figures are denouncing the second hunger strike.

International support

Speaking to a Catholic youth rally in Derry, Daly appealed to the young

people who suffer British repression:

You have grown up in years dominated by violence and injustice. Some of you have experienced the humiliation of being searched by soldiers, of having your home raided, or being questioned by the police, or being intimidated by paramilitaries at various times. . . .

If you are truly followers of Jesus Christ, you must not become involved with groups that have murder and destruction as a policy in our society here in the North of Ireland. . . .

Have nothing whatsoever to do with such groups, have nothing to do with any campaign with which they are associated.

Daly went on to say: "I do not believe that it is justified to endanger health or life by hunger strikes in the present circumstances."

Obviously it is impossible to exclude the organizations the prisoners support from the H-Block campaign. Daly's call on Catholics not to support the campaign because Sinn Féin is in it, in fact parallels the British argument against political status.

It amounts to morally anathematizing those who are driven to violent protest by repression and discrimination, to accepting the moral superiority of those who defend this repression and discrimination over those who suffer from it.

This block of the neocolonialist bourgeoisie and the imperialists cannot be maintained if mass support for the prisoners is mobilized.

For that reason, international support now takes on an even greater importance than it did during the last hunger strike.

From Intercontinental Press

Why liberal Salvadoran editor backs guerrillas

The following is excerpted from an article by Jorge Pinto that appeared in the March 1 'Los Angeles Times.' Pinto was editor of 'El Independiente,' a liberal opposition newspaper formerly published in San Salvador. He was also director in El Salvador of the Independent Associated Press. Here he explains why he sides with the guerrillas.

On Jan. 16, as editor and publisher of El Independiente in San Salvador, I was to transmit via Telex an article that the Los Angeles Times had requested, giving my views of the events in El Salvador. First, I had a telephone conversation with an editor at The Times. An hour later, the military came looking for me at the nearby office of the Independent Associated Press (API), of which I am also director, and arrested the staff. My newspaper again established phone contact with Los Angeles, to report that the article could not be transmitted because the building was being surrounded by troops. My Telex operator speculated that "They don't like us to call the L.A. Times because Reagan reads that newspaper." Simultaneously, the military went to my home and threatened my wife and 3-year-old son with death. Later we gathered at a friend's home. Meanwhile, troops returned in force to my newspaper and smashed all the equipment.

Learning that the military wanted me "dead or alive," I took my family to the Mexican embassy, where we were granted political asylum.

As I write these lines, I am convinced that our Lord God cannot allow these atrocities to continue against his 5 million children in El Salvador, who are dying like chickens in a slaughterhouse. And so again I will resume the message that I set out to deliver on Jan. 16, and within the limits of this space, answer the question, "What is

happening in El Salvador, and why?"

Fifty years. Fifty years of lies. For 50 years, the military has acted as a political party. For 50 years they have promised free elections and reforms. Today, through token civilian president Jose Napoleon Duarte, the military dictatorship once again promises elections and the participation of all sectors. Nobody can believe that.

My newspaper has been confiscated, in express violation of my country's constitution, because of our weapon: words. Words are also the weapon in an electoral campaign. How can the government orchestrate a dialogue when it is suffocating all ideas? To attack a newspaper is to attack the democratic present and future of a country. The military's takeover of El Independiente proves the lack of sincerity on the part of my country's government, in terms of allowing free circulation of all political ideologies at all times.

Personally, I don't want a Stalin in my country, but neither do I want a Napoleon Duarte as a benevolent mask for the murdering military.

The Salvadoran people are fighting an army that has always oppressed them, and their right to insurrection is backed by the Salvadoran constitution. The people of the United States would have been up in arms long ago if they had experienced the horrors that the Salvadorans have suffered for 50 years.

I have been a journalist for more than 20 years, as were my father and grandfather. I have fought for the principles of Western democracy in my country. Now I am convinced that justice cannot exist while an army also exists to carry out a policy of extermination.

Now the forces of reason and democracy increasingly are giving their political support to those who have taken up arms, regardless of what their label might be. The guerrilla forces include

Christians and non-Christians, but all are courageous people who, one way or another, do not want a dictatorship based on assassination, fraud, lies and corruption. The political support behind those in arms is broad-based, comprising Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, priests, even honest military people, such as Col. Ernesto Claramont. He won the vote in 1977, and if it had not been for electoral fraud, he would be the legitimate president of El Salvador today. Taking into account all types of people who are opposing the current regime, it is ridiculous to call them leftist. They represent the spirit of the whole country.

Dictatorship or participatory democracy—there is no other option for the Salvadoran people. If they are not supported, there will be a radicalization of the crisis and the social cost will be high.

If the army were the cause of so many frauds and assassinations in the great democracy of the United States, the chasm would be as wide as the one that led to the Civil War to liberate the slaves and restore the Union. How can the United States support the military in El Salvador, after having spent thousands of North American lives in the fight against military fascism in Europe?

It must be understood that the governing army in El Salvador is neither the right nor the left, let alone the middle. It is a group of murderers and thieves corrupted by lust for power.

When the right-wing government of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero was overthrown in October, 1979, the new junta cited the murders and disappearances that had been carried out during his regime. The junta proclaimed that justice would be done for the families of those people. But justice never arrived. The criminals and torturers of Romero's regime remained in the army. A year and a half later, nothing has been done.

In [1932], a military junta took power, and 30,000 *campesinos* launched an insurrection and were massacred. (It was said that they were led by the words of Karl Marx. That is not true; they were led by their empty stomachs.) The junta then handed power over to Gen. Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez, father of the present regime.

[Pinto describes the successive military regimes.]

In 1972, no popular political organizations worth mentioning existed, yet the people demonstrated great civic consciousness and voted for Jose Napoleon Duarte, a civilian. But Col. Arturo Armando Molina was named president. El Independiente had declared Duarte the winner, and in the scandal that ensued, my wife, Teresita, was arrested and my newspaper was sacked.

Gen. Romero came to power through the fraudulent election of 1977, once again demonstrating to the people that while they could exercise their right to vote, they could never have power via the ballot box.

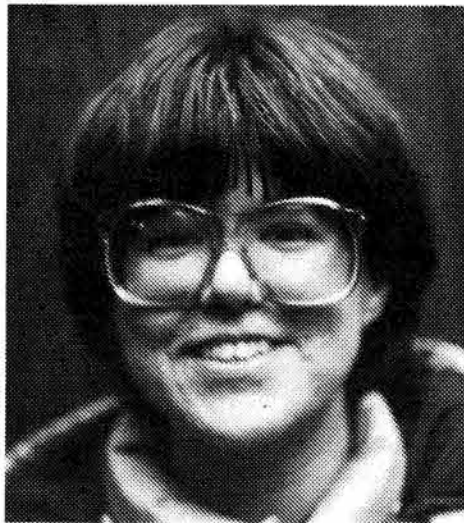
I give this short history to demonstrate that never once in 50 years has there been even a brief interlude for democracy in my country. Is it any wonder that the people of El Salvador are convinced that they cannot find the path of their own destiny by way of elections?

Now the people see the instrument of their repression for 50 years armed by the U.S. government. Now the sum of 50 years of hoodwinking and murderous banditry gives credence to the words of those who claim that it is necessary to fight force with force. Now, out of the shadows of the night, come the people who would end this dictatorship, and every day they grow in number and strength. Thousands and thousands of millions of dollars cannot silence the voice of people who, after 50 years, once again ask for justice.

Unionists see Lockheed fight as their own

The Socialist Workers Party in Atlanta recently nominated Andree Kahlmorgan as its candidate for mayor.

One of the workers fired by Lockheed Georgia for their union activity and political beliefs, Kahlmorgan recently concluded a speaking tour on the case. The following are excerpts from a speech she made to a Socialist Workers Party rally in Atlanta, February 28.



ANDREE KAHLMORGAN

Last November there was a sizable demonstration here in Atlanta. It was against the murders of the Black children. I participated, and the next day a picture of me in the demonstration appeared on the front page of the *Atlanta Journal*. That picture was one of the reasons I was fired from my job.

You know, one of the strangest things to me about the government's publicity around the murders is the fact that they say they haven't enough funds. Yet when it comes to things like investigating the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance, they never have a lack of anything—be it money, personnel, or gall.

When they should have been investigating these child murders, they were busy prying into the lives of socialists and getting them fired.

I was one of fifteen people fired from Lockheed Georgia, supposedly for falsification of our applications.

Fish story

There was something very fishy about these firings. All of us had more in common than being fired from Lockheed for the same reason. Fourteen of us are members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. And the fifteenth supports many of our views. We thought perhaps the good folks at Lockheed had made a mistake. Perhaps we could help them correct their mistake.

Thoughtful people that we are, we issued them some subpoenas to bring in all their files and tell us their story. Well, guess what?

What the files showed is that they didn't really fire us because something was wrong on our applications. They fired us for our political beliefs.

But we found out more than that. We found out they had done some incredible things. We learned that Lockheed security agents like to follow people home and watch them do their laundry, go to restaurants—and political demonstrations.

We found they had a bad habit of eavesdropping on conversations, using electronic listening devices.

And they even had spies in union meetings. And they contacted the FBI to get information on people.

This had serious implications, not only for us socialists, but for our union.

What was an ex-FBI man like this Lockheed snoop doing spying on our union meetings? How long have they been doing this?

We thought other unionists should know about this. So I was one of four of the fired workers who went on tour to tell them about what was going on at Lockheed. I went to ten cities in seven weeks. I talked with unionists from the steelworkers, the auto workers, the coal miners, the transit workers, teachers, laborers, state, county and municipal workers, and electrical workers.

When I told them what was happening at Lockheed they were concerned and they were supportive. They sent a lot of statements of protest to Lockheed.

While they were very interested in what I told them, they weren't surprised.

A local union president in Texas told me, "These are union-busting tactics. We know they have spies in the union. They'd have cameras in your house if they could. Probably in some cases they do."

A business agent for a Boston union said, "I hear they have a file on me. On what I like and don't like. On what makes me angry and what doesn't."

A local president in Houston told me about cameras they had aimed at the picket line during their strike last month.

Standard procedure

They weren't even surprised when I told them about Lockheed's collaboration with the FBI. An official of a big UAW local said, "Labor Relations is full of old FBI agents, that's who they usually hire."

When I showed them the Lockheed security files we had obtained through our suit against the government, they were really surprised. Knowing that the company is spying on your union and proving it are two different things. And this was the first time any one of those I spoke with had seen extensive

proof of what company security departments do to the unions. This is the first time since the '30s that the labor movement has had its hands on this kind of evidence.

It's evidence that confirms what most union leaders know—that the main purpose of company security is to spy on, harass, and weaken our unions.

And if the company doesn't have a large security department, then there are the agencies, such as Pinkerton and others, that can do the job.

FBI's job

And how about the FBI?

Since its inception, it has collaborated with the companies to bust unions. In fact, that is primarily why the government created the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover cut his FBI baby teeth on the Palmer Raids in the 1920s. The targets were union militants and radicals.

The government and the companies have historically collaborated to bust unions. Philip Foner, an outstanding historian on the labor movement, told me, "They haven't come up with a new tactic in 190 years."

Anne Braden hails lawsuit

By Bronson Rozier

LOUISVILLE—A rally in support of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government harassment and spying was held here March 8.

Anne Braden spoke of the sedition trials against her and her husband Carl during the early 1950s in Louisville. She commended the SWP and YSA on their lawsuit.

Braden, now a co-vice president of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and chairperson of the Southern Organizing Committee, recalled a slogan of the 1950s: "You stop a police state by freeing its first victims."

The keynote speaker for the evening was Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers candidate for president in 1980. Pulley received an enthusiastic response from the audience, which was wearing ribbons in solidarity with the Black community of Atlanta.

"Why haven't the police or Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta been investigated?" Pulley asked. "Doesn't it seem logical to look at those with vested interests in that type of activity or those that have committed similar crimes before?"

Their age-old tactic has been to spy on the unions, find out who the militants are—and try to get rid of them.

They did it in the Philadelphia shipyards in 1790, the Pennsylvania coal mines in 1876, the auto plants in 1934, and Lockheed in 1981.

Why they hate unions

Now, why would the government and companies like to bust our unions? Well, the unions are the only organizations of working people to defend their rights against the bosses.

The companies, aided by the government, are organized to make profit off our labor, and unions get in their way.

Whenever we make gains like safe working conditions, union recognition, better pay, it cuts into their drive for bigger profits.

So, of course they want to push us back. And one of their main weapons is spying on and weakening our unions.

That's why this Lockheed case is so important. It exposes their tactics. And we can use it as a means to educate and show how to fight back.

"What about the killer cops that killed twenty-eight Black Atlantans in the early seventies? What about the Ku Klux Klan—who have camps to train for just this sort of thing?"

"Instead of spying on legal political parties, the FBI should be investigating the murder of these Black children."

Abdul Quhhar, Kentucky State representative for the American Muslim Mission, described the frame-up attempts and physical attacks he experienced as a member of the Black Panther Party in Louisville in the 1960s.

Other rally speakers included Herman Dozier, field director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; David Fitz, a member of the Marble Hill Task Force, which is building support for the March 28 demonstration against nuclear power in Harrisburg; and Pat Van Houten, a member of the Tobacco Workers Union and YSA. SWP member Chris Rayson chaired the rally.

Audience support for the lawsuit was reflected by the \$1,585 pledged toward the \$75,000 socialist fund.

**Yes,
I want
to help.**

Clip and mail to Socialist Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

☐ I am pledging \$ _____.

☐ Enclosed is \$ _____.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Rallies reflect growing labor, Black support

By Norton Sandler

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have completed a series of rallies to build support for their suit aimed at halting government spying and disruption.

The amount pledged at these rallies was \$67,037, pushing total pledges to \$107,644. To date, \$48,946 has been collected. Complete collection of the pledge total will put us well over the \$75,000 goal.

Speakers and those in the audience reflected the breadth of support socialists have won in their effort to halt this type of government activity, as well as the growing interest on the part of

young workers and activists in socialist ideas.

Labor participation at these rallies was greater than at socialist events in recent years. For example, Horace Sheffield, president of the Detroit Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, spoke at a rally in that city. Leamon Hood, an area director for the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, spoke in Atlanta. A member of the United Auto Workers spoke in Indianapolis, and Phil Scott, a coal miner, spoke in Morgantown, West Virginia.

Another sign of the times was the number of workers in attendance. In

Salt Lake City, four construction workers came to the socialist rally after receiving a leaflet at a protest held at the state capitol earlier in the day. At the New York City rally, a young worker from the Exxon oil refinery in New Jersey was so inspired that he made a \$1,000 contribution to the Socialist Fund.

Leaders and activists from the struggle for Black rights were well represented. Lucious Walker, a leader of the National Anti-Klan Network, spoke in New York. Fred Shuttlesworth, longtime leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spoke in Cincinnati. In Atlanta, where attention is

focused on the murders of Black children, twenty Blacks attended the rally.

Leaders of solidarity movements with the people of El Salvador and Nicaragua spoke at rallies in many cities.

The trial, which opens soon, will focus on the right to hold and advocate socialist ideas. If the rallies are an indication, many people will want to learn about these ideas in the weeks ahead.

The rapid collection of pledges will allow us to introduce socialist ideas to thousands of working people during the period of the trial. This will greatly boost the effort to win new members to the YSA and the SWP.

Where we are

\$48,946

\$75,000

Farmers' leader backs March 28 in D.C. rally

By Jim Gotesky

WASHINGTON, D.C.—“People who have been beaten and demoralized have gotten tired of the same old bull from the companies, the government, the commissions. People are coming to our offices, asking what can I do?”

Jane Perkins, coordinator of the Greater Harrisburg Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, was telling the audience of 130 about the changing mood in Harrisburg. They had gathered here at the headquarters of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) for a rally in support of the March 28 demonstration for jobs and against nuclear power, which is sponsored by the Labor Committee, the IAM, and other union bodies.

The meeting attracted a wide spectrum of D.C. labor and community organizations. Participants applauded the solidarity theme struck by all speakers.

The rally featured Ben Elliot, acting director of AFSCME Council 26; James Farmer, executive director of the Coalition of American Public Employees; Hilda Mason, a city councilwoman; Robert Pollard, former plant licensing manager for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC); Michael Misen, president of IAM Local 1140; Tom Twomey, director of the United Mine Workers Political Action Committee; Marvin Meek, president of the American Agricultural Movement; and Michelle Tingling, executive director of Minorities Organized for Renewable Energy.

Perkins recalled the deep sense of betrayal in Harrisburg at the time of the Three Mile Island accident toward the government and utilities.

Labor's solidarity changed the sense of helplessness that resulted, she said. “People are reacting with hope, and a lot of commitment due to the fact that labor has gotten into this movement.”

...contract

Continued from back page

industry-wide. According to a March 14 *Washington Post* account, “BCOA [Bituminous Coal Operators Association] chief negotiator Bobby R. Brown contends that under the multi-employer plan . . . surviving firms are carrying an unfunded liability of \$4 billion . . . a burden which our competitors in non-UMWA mines do not have to shoulder.”

Brown, as usual, is concerned about “surviving firms.” What about surviving people?

The BCOA “gray book,” a company pamphlet distributed to all union miners, claims that retired miners can make \$27,000 a year in pension and black lung benefits. This lie infuriated every miner I talked to.

It is also the lie that Reagan's proposed black lung benefit cuts are based on.

The company proposal would eliminate pensions for people who worked for companies that do not exist. It would deny pensions to miners who worked less than ten years in any one mine or company, no matter how

The UMWA's Tom Twomey argued for coal as a cheap and safe alternative to nuclear power. He cited the March 9 miners' march as an example of what can be accomplished when people get together and fight. Two days later, Reagan's budget went to Congress without the threatened cuts in black lung benefits.

James Farmer called for unity against the Reagan administration's push for more nuclear power and fewer social services. “There are many who are demanding that we turn back the clock, some of whom are crazies like the Klan or whoever is the demon or demons in Atlanta. But the masses of Americans do not fit into that category.”

Farmer went on, “I hope March 28 sounds a clarion call. People have been talking about alliances. This is the time to do something about it.”

Marvin Meek of the American Agricultural Movement charged the government with building walls between farmers, labor, and consumers. “The only way we can knock this wall down is to work together.”

Meek pledged that farmers would be in Harrisburg March 28.

Robert Pollard, formerly of the NRC, pointed to the Reagan administration's decision to push for \$250 million for the Clinch River plutonium breeder reactor. None of these particularly deadly reactors has ever been successfully operated commercially.

The Senate has confirmed the reappointment of Joseph Hendrie to head the NRC, Pollard said, the same position he occupied when the Three Mile Island accident and cover-up occurred.

“When you are asking that Three Mile Island not restart, all you are asking is please don't kill me, please do not threaten my life,” concluded Pollard, calling for a massive turnout March 28.

many years they were miners.

The union is having no part of this. The *Post* quoted UMWA president Sam Church as saying that this could end benefits to 25 percent of the union miners in BCOA companies. “They're asking us to buy a pig in a poke,” he said.

At the 1979 convention there was a lot of discussion over the pension program. Resolutions passed to fight for higher pensions, to equalize pension rates among miners who retired at different times, to raise the pitiful \$30 a month pension that goes to retired anthracite miners and their widows.

Coal miners tend to be young; their average age is under 35. But talking to them March 9, at the black lung demonstration in Washington, I found widespread concern for retired miners and widows. “They're the ones who fought to build the union and to get us whatever we have today. We have to back them now.”

This pervasive attitude is one of the strengths of the union.

The company approach, which obviously hopes to divide young miners from old and retired ones, is not likely to succeed.

constantly circulate air through underground coal mines in order to prevent accumulation of dangerous gases, like the highly explosive methane that is released from the coal during mining. Fans are supposed to be equipped with alarms which alert outside personnel in case of malfunction. Vidovich said the fan at Youngstown shut off several times in the days leading up to the walkout and the alarm had not sounded.

The miners exercised their contractual right to withdraw from work that is unsafe. But the company gave them warning slips, charging an unauthorized work stoppage.



On to
March 28
in Harrisburg

Largest AFL-CIO union backs March 28

The United Food and Commercial Workers voted to sponsor the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg against nuclear power, for jobs, and in support of the miners. The action occurs on the second anniversary of the near-meltdown at Three Mile Island. This makes ten international unions and the National Education Association that are sponsors.

United Mine Workers president to speak

The initial speakers' list for March 28 includes: Sam Church, president, UMWA; William Winpisinger, president, International Association of Machinists (IAM); Bella Abzug; Helen Caldicott, Physicians for Social Responsibility; Michio Kaku, nuclear physicist; Gloria Sackman-Reed, national board, National Organization for Women; Victor Gotbaum, director, District Council 37, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Maryam Shareef, Fairfield United Action, South Carolina; Jane Lee, farmer; Jane Kohr, Harrisburg attorney; Jane Perkins, secretary-treasurer, Local 668, Pennsylvania Social Services Union (SEIU); Mike Olszanski, Local 1010, United Steelworkers of America (USWA); James Farmer, executive director, Coalition of American Public Employees and co-founder, Congress of Racial Equality; Rev. Paul Mayer; Dave Wilson, president, USWA Local 2609; and others.

Boston labor blasts Energy Week

A news conference here March 18 gave labor's answer to “American Energy Week,” being promoted by the nuclear industry, and publicized March 28.

Speakers included: State Rep. Tom Gallagher; Mike Irrera, vice-president, AFSCME Local 470; Kathy Ryan, Physicians for Social Responsibility; Peter Wulkan, vice-chair, United Auto Workers (UAW) District 65, Boston University local; and others.

Prepared statements were also read from Congressman Edward Markey, who has endorsed March 28, and Tony Mastandrea, president of the Massachusetts Council of Machinists and business representative, District 38.

Buses are being organized in Amherst and Boston, and International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201 is organizing a bus from Lynn.

Toledo organizes

Sue Skinner reports two buses are reserved, and AFSCME Local 544-02 has voted to endorse the action.

International Chemical Workers Union Local 901 also endorsed and voted to send two members to the march.

At a meeting of the National Association of Lettercarriers, Branch 100, more than fifty members saw the slide show, “Atomic America.” One letter-carrier declared, “I move we endorse it and send \$200 toward the buses.” His motion passed overwhelmingly.

Local 4319 of the Communications Workers of America also endorsed and donated \$100.

At a meeting of Toledo NOW, a representative from the March 28 Committee gave a presentation about Harrisburg.

More than fifty students came to a slide showing at the University of Toledo. Another seventy people attended a fundraiser in a local coffee house. Bus tickets were sold and \$300 was raised.

Jane Lee was through on a four-day tour that included speaking and media engagements in Toledo; Port Clinton; Windsor, Ontario; and Detroit.

Newport News, Va. prepares for 28th

IAM Local 2461, representing 800 workers at the Bendix plant, endorsed March 28 and set up a committee to help get members to Harrisburg.

New York-New Jersey area

AFSCME District 52 is sending a bus and printing up leaflets for its members. District 65 of the UAW is selling bus tickets and sent out a mailing to 9,000 members.

Buses from Newark and Montclair are being organized by the North Jersey Coalition Against Registration and the Draft and the New York Area Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

For more information call (212) 766-1557 or (201) 624-4180.

—Suzanne Haig

...West Va.

Continued from back page

In addition, Triola attempted to prevent state Department of Welfare officials from approving food stamp applications for approximately 40 of the striking miners at Powellton.

The issue at the Youngstown Mine was a clear company provocation. Dave Vidovich, President of UMW Local 5869, told the *Charleston Gazette* that miners stopped work on the midnight shift February 3 because of a faulty fan and alarm.

Giant exhaust fans on the surface

According to Vidovich, the Youngstown mine is highly gassy, and he added: “That Ferrell mine (disaster) is on the men's minds. They said they weren't going to let that happen here.”

On November 7, 1980, five young apprentice miners died in a methane gas explosion at a Westmoreland Coal Co. mine in Boone county. Government inspectors uncovered more than 430 violations of mine safety laws. In an interview with the *Gazette* on March 5, the mother of one of the victims, Butch Kinder, who was twenty-two, said “To me, it's the same thing as murder. I believe Butch would be here today if the supervisors had done their jobs.”

The Ferrell mine started production again in February. Miners there joined the strike.

By February 23, all the striking locals had returned to work. Fired workers were reinstated through arbitration and state mine inspectors investigated the ventilation system at Youngstown. Other issues are still in arbitration.

In an AP interview February 16, Jack Danberry, a veteran of 33 years in the mines, expressed the dominant mood: “We ain't never got nothing unless we struck for it. Hell, this ain't Poland. There, they're trying to get a five-day week. The people here are trying to make us work seven.”

international **socialist** review



Reagan's El Salvador 'White Paper'



A Study in Deception

By Fred Murphy



Soviet Party Congress— Bureaucrats on the Defensive

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Soviet Party Congress— Bureaucrats on the Defensive

The Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which ran from February 23 to March 3 in Moscow, attracted a lot of attention. Like all parties and governments, the Soviet CP is challenged to respond to big changes.

Revolutionary upheavals in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have raised an unprecedented challenge to imperialist domination.

World capitalist economy stagnates, with inflation and unemployment rising. World trade is increasingly subject to disruption. The effects on the semicolonial countries have been devastating but workers states like the Soviet Union, which need to import from and export to capitalist countries, also feel the impact.

The U.S. ruling class—and its counterparts in Europe and Japan—have launched a drive to impose austerity and increase militarization. The aim is to make workers around the world pay for capitalism's crisis, wear down opposition to war, and deal blows to revolutionary struggles.

These developments have brought the working class to the center of world politics. This has been demonstrated in the urban insurrections that brought down the shah and Somoza, and in the rising pace of class struggle in the United States, Western Europe, and Japan.

The most striking thing about the Soviet congress was its defensive and conservative response to this turn in world politics.

There was no trace of the identification with revolutionary advances that characterized the Congress of the Cuban Communist Party in December.

The difference was symbolized in leadership elections that concluded the congresses. The Cubans took pride in electing a leadership that sought to reflect the rise of a new revolutionary generation of workers. "The most important, the most revolutionary thing about this Congress," Castro told a mass rally that followed, "was the composition of our Central Committee. The leadership of our party was given a strong dose of worker cadres, a strong dose of women, and a strong dose of internationalist fighters."

The outlook of the Soviet leaders was symbolized by the re-election without change of an all-male political bureau whose average age was sixty-nine, and a secretariat with an average age of 68.

Far from viewing the fighting spirit and self-confidence of a new generation of workers as an opportunity, the Kremlin recognizes it as a deadly threat. In Poland, it has produced the most powerful antibureaucratic upsurge in a workers state since

Stalin rose to power in the Soviet Union after Lenin's death in 1924. The response of the Congress to this inspiring development was slanders about "antisocialist" forces, and hints of invasion.

From the Kremlin's standpoint, all the big changes in world politics are viewed as endangering the stability of the privileged bureaucracy that governs the Soviet Union, and its prime goal of improving relations with the imperialist powers.

For this reason, the goal of detente with Washington was the centerpiece of party secretary Leonid Brezhnev's report to the congress. The call for a summit meeting with Reagan—cold-shouldered by Washington—was the main new proposal.

There is nothing wrong in principle with such meetings. The Soviet Union can ill afford to ignore possibilities for agreement on improving diplomatic ties, expanding trade and cultural exchanges, disarmament, and other matters.

But in exchange for such agreements, the Kremlin offers to help Washington restrain or crush revolutionary struggles.

The eagerness of the Soviet leaders for this kind of detente was not lessened by Washington's increased hostility over the past year. The prospects of a continued grain embargo, declining trade with the United States (it fell by more than 50 percent last year), and having to match a new U.S. arms buildup have spurred Moscow's desire for an accord.

As Brezhnev said, "The deterioration of the world economy and spiraling prices are making themselves felt. The slowing of the detente process and the arms race imposed by the imperialist powers are no small burden for us as well."

With justice, Brezhnev denied Soviet responsibility for the escalating arms race and the war danger. But, he added, "A war danger does exist for the United States" due to "the tension that still exists in the world."

"We are prepared," he offered, "to combat this . . . danger hand in hand with the United States, with the countries of Europe, with all countries in the world."

He cited the example of the Persian Gulf: "A state of stability and calm can be created in that region by joint effort."

Moscow demonstrated its willingness to help Washington impose "stability and calm" on peoples fighting for freedom in the case of Vietnam. In 1972, Brezhnev played host to Nixon. After that butcher had mined Haiphong harbor and unleashed the heaviest bombing up to that time of North Vietnam, he was hailed in Moscow as a friend of peace.

At the same time, Moscow and Peking exerted diplomatic, economic and political pressure to get the Vietnamese leaders to agree to the preservation of a puppet regime in the South. The concessions included in the Paris accords of 1973 were a reflection of this pressure on Vietnam.

But despite Brezhnev's helping hand, Washington proved unable to prevent the Vietnamese people from completing the liberation of their country.

Moscow's declining ability to deliver on its betrayals of revolutions is a product of

the rise of the world revolution and the resulting decline of both imperialism and Stalinism. It helps explain the Reagan administration's refusal thus far to respond favorably to Brezhnev's overtures.

Administration officials make no secret of the fact that they expect Moscow to firmly discipline Cuba and Vietnam as a first proof of "sincerity."

Cuba enraged Washington by sending troops to push back South Africa's invasion of Angola and the counterrevolutionary invasion of Ethiopia by the Somali government.

Now, Cuba's solidarity with the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions, and with the people of El Salvador against the junta, is seen as an even more explosive threat.

It is significant that Brezhnev—despite his numerous abstract calls for peace—did not find time in his lengthy speech for even the most perfunctory statement of opposition to the genocidal junta of El Salvador and U.S. support for it.

Coming in the midst of a massive escalation of U.S. involvement in the Salvadoran civil war, Brezhnev's silence was the clearest possible statement that the Soviet rulers are willing to accept and even facilitate Washington's banditry in exchange for diplomatic and economic concessions.

Southeast Asia is another area where Washington is looking for Brezhnev's help.

In the years after the fall of the Saigon regime in 1975, the Indochinese revolutions have moved forward despite immense difficulties. The reunification of Vietnam, the overturn of capitalist property relations in the south, the overturn of Pol Pot in Kampuchea, and the deepening of the Laotian revolution were major blows to Washington. Imperialist strategists see reining in and breaking the spirit of the Vietnamese revolution as key to stopping the advances in that region.

Moscow's efforts to tame the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions have not borne fruit. Pushing matters to a break would be costly for the Kremlin, since a considerable part of its waning prestige in the world workers' movement stems from its alliance with Cuba and Vietnam.

The chances of getting Vietnam to agree to the restoration of a proimperialist regime in Kampuchea—Washington's immediate goal—are slim.

And Fidel Castro reminded the Soviet congress of Cuba's stand when he told the delegates, "Cuba will never give in! . . ."

"We will not reject the olive branch if it is proffered, but neither will we back away in the face of aggression. Principles are not negotiable!"

With little prospect of putting a stop to revolutionary unrest or achieving the sought-after relationship with Washington, the Congress of the Soviet Communist Party amounted to a holding action by the bureaucratic caste in the face of growing pressures.

In the years to come, the Kremlin rulers are sure to find that growing numbers of working people—including in Poland and elsewhere in the Soviet bloc—give Castro's answer when the imperialists or the bureaucrats seek to impose a "state of calm and stability" on the oppressed.

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Reagan's El Salvador 'White Paper'



A Study in Deception

By Fred Murphy

In its efforts to convince public opinion in the United States and abroad that its belligerent policy in Central America is necessary and correct, the Reagan administration resorted to a time-honored technique: the issuance of an official "White Paper."

On February 23, Special Report No. 80, entitled *Communist Interference in El Salvador* came off the press at the State Department's Bureau of Public Affairs. It is eight pages of flimsy arguments, samples of "secret documents" allegedly captured from Salvadoran rebels, photographs of sundry weapons also allegedly captured, charts, and maps.

As can be seen from the title, the aim of the White Paper is to invoke the specter of an impending "communist take-over" of El Salvador. With this argument, Washington hopes to whip its allies and the American people into line behind policies strikingly similar to those that led to war in Korea and Vietnam, to U.S.-backed aggression in Guatemala and Cuba, to the occupation of the Dominican Republic by U.S. troops, and to countless other less spectacular U.S. military moves abroad since World War II.

Before taking up the new White Paper itself, let's look briefly at some similar documents and statements that have emanated from Washington over the years, and at the events that quickly followed them.

'Communist Takeover' in Guatemala

In May 1954, the State Department accused the democratically-elected government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala of having received a shipment of 2,000 tons of weapons from the Soviet Union. A campaign was launched to line up other Latin American governments against Arbenz, who had

asserted independence from Washington. His government sought to implement an agrarian reform, taking away some idle land from a powerful U.S. corporation, the United Fruit Company.

One month after the State Department's charges, a force of right-wing Guatemalans—organized by the CIA and led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas—invaded the country from neighboring Honduras. Arbenz was overthrown and a reign of terror was imposed on the Guatemalan workers and peasants that continues to this day.¹

U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (once an attorney for the United Fruit Co.) justified Washington's hostility to the Arbenz regime in a June 30, 1954, speech on nationwide television.

"International Communism," Dulles said, had chosen Guatemala "as a spot which it could turn into an official base from which to breed subversion which would extend to other American Republics."

The nefarious plot had begun ten years earlier, Dulles went on, "when a revolution occurred in Guatemala." That revolution "was not without justification. But the Communists seized on it, not as an opportunity for real reform, but as a chance to gain political power."²

(As we shall see, the theme of a legitimate revolution being "taken over by Communists" crops up often in Washington's justifications for military intervention abroad.)

In early April 1961, when the Kennedy administration's campaign to turn back the Cuban revolution was reaching fever pitch, another White Pa-

per came off the State Department presses. Its central thesis was that Fidel Castro had "betrayed" the revolution and delivered it "to the Sino-Soviet bloc." Part of the evidence adduced was the alleged receipt by the Castro government of some 30,000 tons of arms, which had "poured from beyond the Iron Curtain into Cuba in an ever-rising flood."

Two weeks later came the CIA-organized attempt by counterrevolutionary Cubans to invade the island at the Bay of Pigs (Playa Girón). The invasion was soundly defeated by militias of armed workers and peasants.

And the Dominican Republic

On May 2, 1965, thousands of U.S. marines were disembarking in the Dominican Republic, where they were to remain for months until a pro-U.S. dictatorship was firmly in place. As the marines landed, President Lyndon Johnson was explaining in a televised speech to the American people that "the revolutionary movement" in the Dominican Republic had taken "a tragic turn":

"And what began as a popular democratic revolution committed to democracy and social justice very shortly moved and was taken over and really seized and placed into the hands of a band of Communist conspirators."

Johnson pledged to follow the guidance of "our beloved President John F. Kennedy" and "use every resource at our command to prevent the establishment of another Cuba in this hemisphere."

Perhaps the most famous White Paper of them all was the one the State Department issued in February 1965—*Aggression From the North: The Record of North Vietnam's Campaign to Conquer South Vietnam*.

And Vietnam

That document provided the rationale for the massive U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and the introduction of hundreds of thousands of U.S. combat troops on the side of the dictatorial regime in Saigon.

In its 1965 White Paper, the State Department

1. According to Amnesty International, "death squads" linked to the Guatemalan dictatorship's security forces killed more than 20,000 persons between 1966 and February 1977. From June 1978 to the present, the figure is nearly 5,000.

2. Dulles's speech appears in a State Department document issued in August 1954, entitled *Intervention of International Communism in Guatemala*. From its appearance and format, this seems to have been a Blue Book rather than a White Paper.

Fred Murphy has reported extensively from Nicaragua for *Intercontinental Press*.

claimed "the war in Vietnam is not a spontaneous and local rebellion against the established government."

"Large and increasing quantities of military supplies are entering South Vietnam from outside the country," the State Department said. "The principal supply point is North Vietnam, which provides a convenient channel for material that originates in Communist China and other Communist countries."

In a March 8, 1965 response to the State Department document, the *Militant* termed such arguments "hogwash":

"The rebellion in South Vietnam against the Saigon regime is a popular revolution, supported by the overwhelming majority of the South Vietnamese people, and fought with weapons captured from U.S. and puppet troops. Even the White Paper for all its trumped-up evidence fails to cite any crucial aid from North Vietnam, the removal of which would make a significant difference in the future course of the revolutionary war in the South. This point is recognized by all observers, though admitted only privately by U.S. officials."

The White Paper's real aim, the *Militant* declared, was to justify "an open policy of aggressive war against North Vietnam."

Latest Installment

The latest White Paper to come out of Washington is simply a new version of the same old arguments, this time with the goal of justifying—if things should reach such a point—"an open policy of aggressive war" against Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Salvadoran revolution.

The February 23 document presents five central arguments that can be boiled down as follows:

1. The current regime in El Salvador "has begun broad social changes: conversion of large estates into peasant cooperatives, distribution of land to tenant farmers, and nationalization of foreign trade and banking." In doing so, it is sincerely working to put an end to a longstanding situation in which "the political system remained in the hands of a traditional economic elite backed by the military." The regime represents a continuation of the coalition of "progressive Salvadoran military officers and civilians" that "overthrew the authoritarian regime of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero in October 1979 and ousted nearly 100 conservative senior officers."

2. By opposing such a progressive government, the rebels are acting "in defiance of the will of the Salvadoran people." Their propaganda is lying when it "foster[s] the impression of overwhelming popular support for the revolutionary movement." This is proved by the fact that "few Salvadorans participate in anti-government demonstrations." The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) is a "front organization" made up of the Communists and "three small non-Marxist-Leninist political parties." Most of its activities "take place outside El Salvador."

3. The "Salvadoran guerrilla factions," having become "increasingly committed . . . to a military solution," are the ones to blame for terrorism in El Salvador. They are lying again when they claim "that the government's security forces were responsible for most of the 10,000 killings that occurred in 1980. . . ." The existence of right-wing terrorism is acknowledged; it is aimed "against supporters of the agrarian and banking reforms and against the government itself." Such terrorism exists in "a symbiotic relationship" with that of the left.

Denounce "Advice"

4. In their violent campaign "to bring about the overthrow of El Salvador's established government," the guerrillas have received "assistance and advice" from "Fidel Castro and the Cuban government." This, combined with "commitments to supply the insurgents nearly 800 tons of the most modern weapons and equipment" made by "key officials of several Communist states," proves that El Salvador is "a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers acting through Cuba."

5. The United States government bears no responsibility for the situation in El Salvador. It is only "since the October 1979 revolution" that the United States has been involved there—mostly by helping economically to "create jobs, feed the hungry, improve health and housing and education, and support the reforms. . . ." Only after "Communist involvement" became evident did President Carter "authorize a resupply of weapons and ammunition to El Salvador—the first provision of lethal items since 1977." Another of the "more extreme claims" of the guerrillas is "that the United States has military bases and several

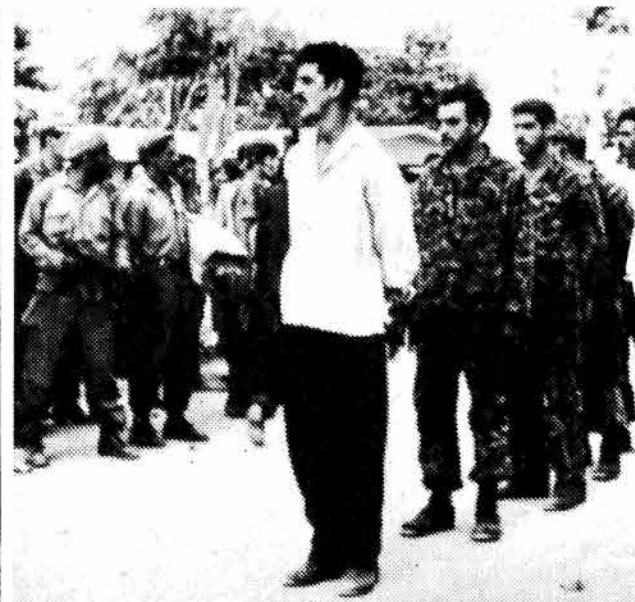
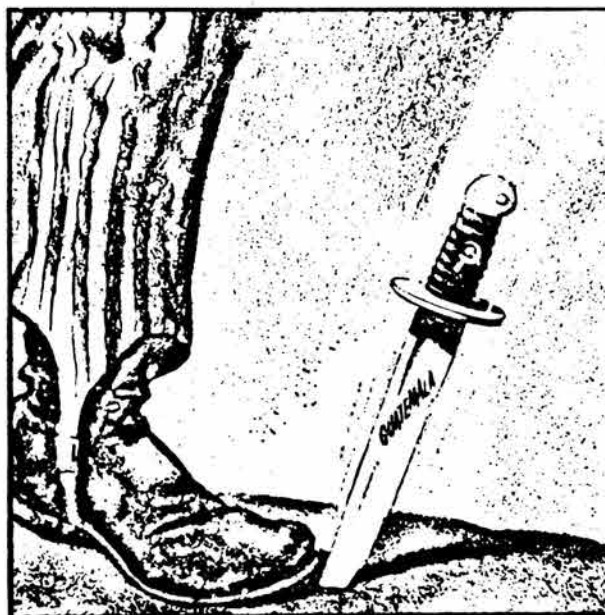
hundred troops in El Salvador. . . ."

Let's take these points up one by one. What we will find are outright lies, half truths, distortions, self-serving omissions, and irrelevant arguments.

1. The October 15 Coup

The White Paper speaks vaguely of a "period of instability" that followed the October 15, 1979, coup that ousted Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero from the Salvadoran presidency and installed a five-member junta. A false impression is created that the current regime represents a continuation of the post-coup set-up.

In fact, the junta that took office pledging to "halt violence and corruption" and bring about "an equitable distribution of the national wealth" fell apart after just six weeks. One of its members,



The latest White Paper to come out of Washington is simply the goal of justifying 'an open policy of aggressive war'



Top row, left to right: an example of propaganda used to justify 1954 CIA operation that brought down Arbenz government in Guatemala; captured participants in unsuccessful 'Bay of Pigs' invasion of Cuba, staged by CIA in 1961; U.S. soldiers guard Dominican rebels as part of invasion aimed at stopping popular uprising against military

Guillermo Ungo, now heads the Revolutionary Democratic Front. Another, Col. Adolfo Majano, is under arrest. Five of the young officers who organized the coup have fled the country, fearing for their lives.

The October 15 junta was prevented from implementing its promises of progressive change because of the veto power exercised over it by the dominant right-wing sector of the armed forces hierarchy. The latter was represented on the junta by Col. Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez, who was placed there at the insistence of the U.S. embassy.

Ungo, his fellow junta member Ramón Mayorga, the entire cabinet except for the defense minister, and thirty-eight other top officials all resigned from the government on January 3, 1980. Ungo and Mayorga denounced "the inclusion in the present Government of reactionary forces who are bound in their very roots to the oligarchy." They pointed in particular to the defense minister, Col. José Guillermo García, who remains in that post to this day.

A new junta was patched together with the par-

ticipation of a faction of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC); another faction had already passed over to the opposition. That second junta lasted until March 3, when PDC leader Héctor Dada resigned. Dada stated in a letter:

"We have not been able to stop the repression and those committing acts of repression . . . go unpunished; the promised dialogue with the popular organizations fails to materialize; the chances for producing reforms with the support of the people are receding beyond reach."

The Current Regime

Dada and six other PDC leaders resigned from the party as well, declaring that "the Christian Democratic Party should not participate in a regime which has unleashed the bloodiest repression ever experienced by the Salvadoran people."

The much-reduced Christian Democrats then offered their top leader José Napoleón Duarte to fill Dada's place. The third junta decreed a state of siege and launched its program of "reforms."

Washington's claim that the current Salvadoran regime is "progressive" rests largely on the agrarian reform it has undertaken. But this measure was not aimed at achieving a just distribution of the land. Rather, its purpose was to destroy the social base of the revolutionary forces in the countryside.

First came the expropriation of estates larger than 500 hectares. A March 17, 1980, news release by Amnesty International explained how this was accomplished:

"Troops operating in open coordination with the paramilitary organization ORDEN³ have shot or abducted peasants, razed villages and destroyed

3. The Democratic Nationalist Organization (ORDEN, which means "order" in Spanish) was organized in the mid-1960s with the assistance of the Central Intelligence Agency. The aim was to create a network of supporters of the military dictatorship in the countryside who could

rops in Suchitoto and Morazán Department, as well as in Cuscatlán and Chalatenango.

"The authorities said troops were ordered to occupy plantations to be expropriated under the agrarian reform. Under these orders . . . they attacked villages supporting opposition peasant unions. . . . Land seized has been handed over to members of ORDEN."

Land to the Tiller?

An ecumenical delegation representing Catholic and Protestant institutions in the United States further concluded after a visit to El Salvador in late March 1980:

"While the agrarian reform has resulted in the expropriation of large landholdings, and in many cases the peaceful incorporation of peasants into cooperatives, there is ample evidence that in other

It is a strange agrarian reform indeed if peasants are fleeing from it in fear for their lives!

While striking hard at the independent peasant organizations, the junta's measures have left the economic power of the Salvadoran oligarchy virtually intact. Coffee, the main source of oligarchic profits, is cultivated mainly on farms ranging from 50 to 150 hectares. Less than one percent of coffee plantations have been affected by the reform thus far, and the planned second stage—expropriation of farms larger than 150 hectares—has been shelved indefinitely.

The third aspect of the agrarian reform, with the progressive-sounding title "Land to the Tiller," was recently described as follows:

"Decree 207 . . . states that all current tenants shall become owners of their rented plots (title given after 30 years), provided that the plot not ex-

termin, who once designed rural pacification programs in South Vietnam that were also entitled "Land to the Tiller." In 1972 Prosterman termed his South Vietnamese program "probably the most ambitious and progressive non-Communist land reform of the twentieth century"; in 1980 he referred to the Salvadoran one as "the most complete agrarian reform in the history of Latin America."

In Vietnam Prosterman's land reform was accompanied by the CIA's Operation Phoenix, which involved the assassination of some 30,000 alleged guerrillas or guerrilla sympathizers. It would seem that the Salvadoran National Guard and ORDEN are out to top that figure.

2. Who Represents 'the Will of the People'?

As the State Department would have it, the Revolutionary Democratic Front was "created" by the guerrillas "to disseminate propaganda abroad." The participation in the FDR of "three small non-Marxist-Leninist parties" is only "for appearances sake."

What is the Opposition?

What is the FDR and how was it formed?

From the mid-1970s on, several broad coalitions of trade unions, peasant organizations, student groups, and associations of slum-dwellers and market vendors came together to wage struggles for economic and social demands. The most important of these were the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR), which was especially strong in the countryside and in the poor neighborhoods of San Salvador; the United People's Action Front (FAPU), which had close ties to several of the country's most important trade unions; and the February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28), which was strongest in the student sector.

In January 1980 these groups united to form the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM). Also joining the CRM was the Democratic Nationalist Union (UDN), a small political group that was the legal expression of the Salvadoran Communist Party. (The CP itself had been banned by the military dictatorship since 1932.)

Why They Don't March

The CRM provided convincing evidence that it did indeed represent the masses when it called a demonstration of 300,000 persons in San Salvador on January 22, 1980. The huge march protested repression and supported the demands of the workers and peasants.

Two hundred demonstrators were killed and 300 wounded when police and paramilitary sharpshooters opened fire on the huge crowd. The bloodbath showed there had been no real change in the dictatorship; it helped to fuel opposition to the government among the political figures and intellectuals who had taken part in the first junta.

Another massacre was carried out on March 30, at the funeral of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, who was himself brought down by a right-wing assassin's bullet on March 24.

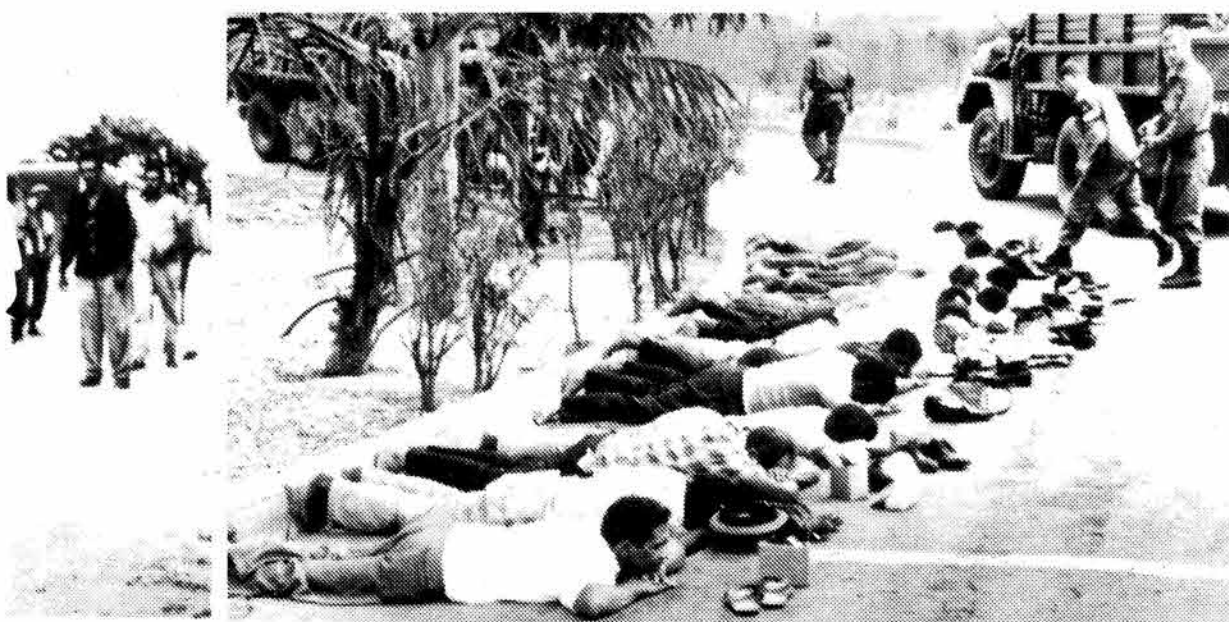
Four hundred thousand persons turned out to honor the archbishop, who had been an outspoken defender of the poor and working people. Fifty persons were killed and more than 650 wounded when the regime's police and paramilitary gangs attacked the funeral crowd.

Since that time the Salvadoran revolutionary organizations have not called for further mass demonstrations against the government, justly fearing that they would lead only to further massacres. So when the State Department claims that "few Salvadorans participate in anti-Government demonstrations," it is lying in an especially cynical way.

As repression mounted and the brutality of the "agrarian reform" became obvious, middle-class opponents of the regime closed ranks with the CRM to form the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

The Real Majority

The FDR now includes all the trade unions and popular organizations that originally made up the CRM, as well as the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), which is a member organization of the Socialist International; the Popular Social Christian Movement (MPSC), which represents all the Christian Democrats who opposed their party's capitulation to the military dictatorship; the National University of El Salvador; the Independent Movement of Professionals and Tech-



a new version of the same old arguments, this time with inst Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Salvadoran revolution.



e. Bottom left, U.S. soldier guards suspected Vietnamese rebels (claim that rebels got outside aid was used to ip justify sending 500,000 U.S. troops). Right, a U.S.-armed Salvadoran soldier mutilates rebel suspects.

areas the process is a violent one. The National Guard who are ostensibly sent to protect the seized properties accompany members of the proscribed ORDEN to search out and eliminate peasants in the area who are identified as members of organized peasant groups considered to be leftist. . . .

"The delegation was particularly shocked by the barbarity of the repression. We have heard testimony from eyewitnesses of rape, torture, mutilation, decapitation, garroting, and the murder of unarmed and defenseless men, women and children. The security forces burned fields and forests and destroyed bridges to prevent people from escaping the atrocities."⁴

serve as informers, strikebreakers, assassins, and reserve battalions of the National Guard. ORDEN was provided with an anticommunist ideology of the crude kind. At its height the organization numbered some 100,000 members, mostly plantation foremen, small peasants, or lumpen elements who joined to secure privileges. The October 15 junta decreed the dissolution of ORDEN, but it has never ceased to function.

4. Christianity and Crisis, May 12, 1980.

ceed seven hectares. Thus are 100,000 peasant families to be presumptively locked onto miserable plots of useless land, too small to provide subsistence." [New York Village Voice, March 4-10.]

An in-depth study of the agrarian reform by Philip Wheaton states further:

"Despite being listed as official beneficiaries, the land deeded to those who do participate in this [Land to the Tiller] program will be of questionable benefit. Participants must purchase the land by making yearly payments, but without access to credit and without any organized political power in El Salvador, the peasant—be he renter or owner—will remain as indebted and powerless as ever."⁵

Another 'Land Reform'

It should be noted that a key role in the Salvadoran land reform is being played by one Roy Pro-

5. Wheaton, Philip, *Agrarian Reform in El Salvador: A Program of Rural Pacification* (Washington, D.C.: EPI-CA Task Force, 1980).

nicians; the Association of Bus Companies of El Salvador; and several other trade-union federations that had not belonged to the CRM. Participating in the FDR as observers are the National Federation of Small Business, and the Catholic University, a Jesuit-run institution.

In effect, the FDR is the representative of the vast majority of the Salvadoran people.

Another dishonest claim that defenders of Washington's policies in El Salvador often make is that the current president, Napoleón Duarte, has popular support because he was the real winner of the 1972 elections, but was, as the White Paper puts it, "denied office by the military."

Duarte's "Popular Support"

That the military stole the elections in 1972 is certainly true, but it is a gross distortion to claim majority support for Duarte as though nothing had happened in the intervening nine years.

In fact, the FDR has a far stronger claim to the 1972 majority than Duarte does. For one thing, the bulk of the forces that supported Duarte's candidacy are now to be found in the FDR. The United National Opposition of 1972 included the MNR, the UDN, and the Christian Democrats. A big majority of the latter now make up the MPSC. Guillermo Ungo, leader of the MNR, was Duarte's running mate in 1972 and is now president of the FDR.

Moreover, the 1972 campaign headed by Duarte was a campaign against military dictatorship and repression. By now lending his services as the civilian fig-leaf of the dictatorship, Duarte has betrayed the stated aims of his own 1972 candidacy.

Last November, six leaders of the FDR were kidnapped in San Salvador in broad daylight by uniformed troops and paramilitary forces. Hours later, their bodies, showing signs of torture, were found on the outskirts of the capital.

On February 10 of this year, the Salvadoran army broke up a meeting of the National University's governing board and arrested twenty-one persons. According to President Duarte, the army acted on suspicion that the FDR was holding a meeting.

Add to these incidents the continued imprisonment of dozens of trade-union leaders and the daily murders of activists by paramilitary death squads and you can begin to understand the cynicism of the State Department's comment that "most of [the FDR's] activities take place outside the country."

The Real Terrorists

As the State Department would have it, the Salvadoran workers and peasants and their allies are to be condemned for having become "increasingly committed to a military solution."

Was it the opposition groups that engineered electoral frauds in 1972 and 1976? Was it the left that vetoed the reform measures the civilians on the October 15, 1979, junta sought to implement? Was it the guerrillas that massacred peaceful demonstrators on January 22 and March 30, 1980? Is it the peasant unions that have sown terror throughout the countryside under the cover of an "agrarian reform"?

Washington's argument turns the victims into the criminals. If the Salvadoran people have taken up arms, it is not because they desire a "military solution" but because they are fighting for their lives against a ruling elite that murdered 30,000 peasants in 1932 and whose current policies point toward a death toll surpassing even that horrible figure.

The real terrorists in El Salvador are not to be found in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), but in the armed forces of the government itself. The real terrorists are the ones who carry out acts such as these, described by Salvadoran peasant Rosabel Sibrian to correspondent David Blundy of the London *Sunday Times*.

"Some soldiers and ORDEN people gathered children and babies together," said Sibrian. "I saw them throw children into the air and then slash them with long machetes. They cut their heads off and slit their bodies in two." One soldier told the mother of a child: "We are killing the children of subversion." [London *Sunday Times*, February 22, 1981.]

U.S. Congresswoman Barbara Mikulski heard many such accounts from Salvadoran refugees on a recent fact-finding tour of Central America. "Everywhere I went," Mikulski said upon her return to the United States, "I asked, 'Are these atrocities

also committed by the left?' 'No,' they answered, 'Always by the military.'"

Churches Condemn Mass Murder

Only the Reagan administration and the Salvadoran right wing itself have ever gone so far as to claim that the majority of the dead in El Salvador are victims of the popular guerrillas. Respected institutions such as Amnesty International, the U.S. Catholic Conference, the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, and the Legal Aid office of the San Salvador Archdiocese of the Catholic church, all have stated repeatedly that most of those killed in political violence are the victims of the security forces.

Rev. William Wipfler, a member of the ecumenical delegation from the United States that was cited above in connection with the agrarian reform, reported the following after his visit to El Salvador:

"Voluminous documentation . . . gathered by the Archbishop's legal assistance office . . . negated the myth of the junta's distance from official repression; it established that the violence on the right was perpetrated largely by official security forces often working in conjunction with the proscribed paramilitary organization ORDEN; that their victims were principally unarmed civilians; that deaths caused by the left were generally the result of armed confrontations between security

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forces and guerrillas; and that the proportion of deaths attributable to 'right' and 'left' was 10 to 1." [Christianity and Crisis, May 12, 1980.]

El Salvador's acting archbishop, Msgr. Arturo Rivera y Damas, reaffirmed in his Sunday homily on March 8 of this year that the security forces are responsible for the bulk of the killings.

Even former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White has declared that "the chief killer of Salvadorans is the government security forces."

Right-wing Extremists in Power

Despite the thousands of victims and the State Department's own claim that the current government "faces armed opposition from the extreme right as well as from the left," not a single right-wing terrorist has ever been prosecuted in El Salvador. Washington's own Federal Bureau of Investigation has acknowledged that the Salvadoran security forces are blocking the probe into last December's murder of four U.S. women missionaries in El Salvador.

The judge assigned to investigate the murder of Archbishop Romero was forced to flee the country upon discovering that two former top military officers—Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson and Gen. José Alberto Medrano, reputed chiefs of the death squads and ORDEN respectively—were responsible. Neither was even arrested, much less prosecuted.

3. Washington's 'Evidence'

The centerpiece of the White Paper is a lengthy section entitled "Communist Military Intervention: A Chronology."

"Captured documents . . . some written in cryptic language" are cited to prove the charge that the Salvadoran rebels are the instruments of "a highly disturbing pattern of parallel and coordinated action by a number of Communist and some radical

countries bent on imposing a military solution."

The picture is painted in great detail. Besides lists of weapons and equipment the guerrillas supposedly received from "Communist and radical countries," we are also given such choice tidbits as the fact that Salvadoran leaders had "dinner at Humberto's house" during a visit to Nicaragua.⁶

There's a problem, however: No evidence is presented as to the authenticity of the information. All we have is Washington's own assertion that the documents were "recovered" from the Salvadoran guerrillas, and that "when deciphered and verified against evidence from other intelligence sources," they prove the State Department's claims.

Former CIA agent Philip Agee has said of the White Paper's evidence that "I personally think that until proven otherwise, these documents are falsified."

"I myself wrote up false documents personally for years for the CIA in Latin America," Agee said, "in order to achieve the very same political purpose that these so-called 'proof' documents are serving right now." (Guardian, March 11.)

When a State Department mission visited Britain to enlist support from the Thatcher government for Reagan's campaign, even the conservative London weekly the *Economist* commented: "Captured documents are a risky basis for sound intelligence, particularly when those who say they captured them have an interest in proving that their contents are accurate."

The revolutionary forces of El Salvador have categorically denied the charges. "The only incontrovertible truth before the international conscience," the FMLN and the FDR said in a statement issued in late February, "is the growing provision of arms and military training with which the United States government has helped the army of the Christian Democratic/military junta of El Salvador."

If the State Department really had conclusive proof, we can be sure it would have been presented by now—especially since even the big-business press of the United States has taken to referring to Washington's assertions as "allegations" rather than proven facts.

Right to Accept Aid

But even if it could be proved that the rebels receive weapons from governments of which Reagan, Haig, and company do not approve, this would not make a whit of difference in the justice of the struggle of El Salvador. The FMLN and the FDR have correctly asserted the "legitimate right which the Salvadoran people have to avail themselves of support from any people or government to carry out their just struggle, as much at the political and diplomatic levels as in any other dimensions of this same struggle."

The same has been true for freedom fighters throughout history. Even Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., an author of the State Department's 1961 White Paper on Cuba, acknowledges this today. "Two centuries ago American revolutionaries accepted aid from France," Schlesinger wrote in the February 23 *Wall Street Journal*. "This did not prove that they were disciplined agents of European monarchy, only that they were fighting for their lives."

It should also be asked why the State Department finds Cuban "assistance and advice" so much more objectionable than that the Salvadorans have received from Social Democratic parties in Western Europe, from sectors of the Catholic Church, from trade unions in Mexico and elsewhere, and so on. As for weapons, reports no less credible than Washington's have indicated that arms are arriving in El Salvador by way of Mexico, Honduras, Costa Rica, Panama, and other countries that the U.S. government considers part of the "free world."

Cuban Example

What really alarms the Reagan administration is that many of the Salvadoran fighters get ideas from the Cuban leaders and seek to follow the example of the Cuban revolution.

The Cubans managed to achieve what no other people in Latin America yet have (although the Nicaraguans are well on their way). Cuba broke free of economic and political domination by the United States.

When the Guatemalans were groping toward

6. Humberto is a common name in Central America, and there must be several thousand in Nicaragua alone. Nonetheless, the State Department confidently asserts this was "presumably Sandinista leader Humberto Ortega."

that goal in 1954, they were stopped with a CIA-mounted invasion. When the Dominican people tried to uphold their right to a democratic government in 1965, 30,000 U.S. marines landed on their shores to make sure military rule would continue. And when the Chilean people threatened to go beyond the bounds approved by the State Department in 1973, they were turned back by economic sabotage and a bloody coup that Washington helped to organize. The first reform-minded Salvadoran junta also went down under pressure from the U.S. government and the Salvadoran military.

Only the Cubans have been able to free themselves of U.S. domination. They did so by not stopping halfway. They destroyed root and branch the old military-bureaucratic system of the Batista dictatorship. Responding to threats and economic pressure from Washington, they took control of foreign-owned sugar plantations, mines, factories, and other enterprises. And instead of turning those properties over to the local exploiters, they

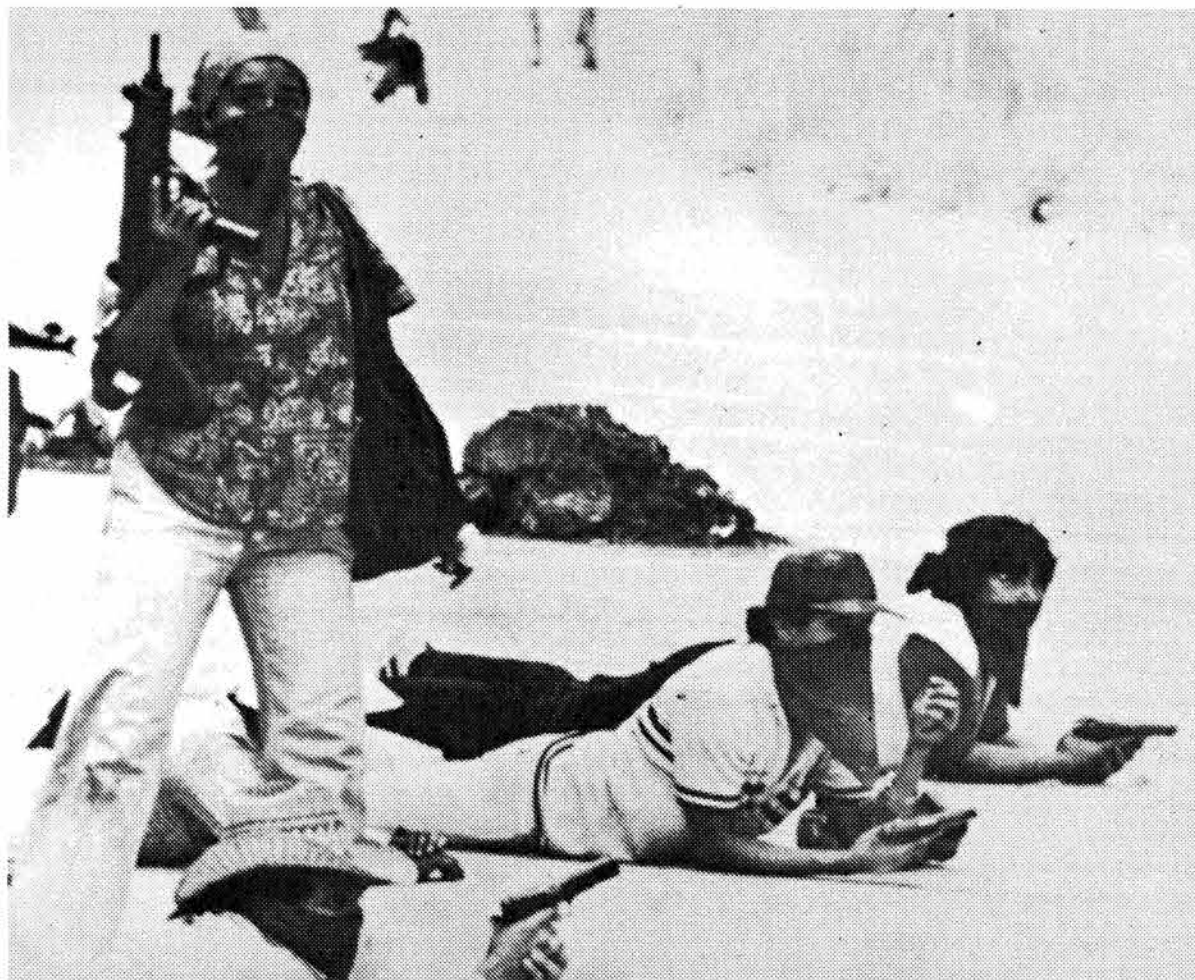
hungry peasants, among the people who were discontented or thought that they could live a little better than they were living, any time this happened, someone would come to the Embassy and say the Cubans have landed."

Then as now, such stories were aimed at justifying more U.S. military aid to help the ruling dictatorship stave off the "hungry peasants." Williams says: "We heard it over and over again. In fact, it was used to such an extent that we were urged to send communications equipment back in the early '60s to El Salvador to make it easier to control the Cuban threat. It's been going on for twenty years."⁷

4. No Clean Hands in Washington

When Dan Rather of CBS News interviewed Fidel Castro in September 1979, he attempted to

Behind all of the White Paper's accusations of 'terrorism' against the Salvadoran rebels, and all its pious claims to support a 'nonviolent' solution in El Salvador, lies an old notion: People who are oppressed and exploited have no right to take up arms against an unjust regime.



organized them into a planned economy that puts the needs of working people above all other considerations.

Thus it should not be surprising that several generations of Salvadoran revolutionists have drawn inspiration from Cuba's example and have sought out the "assistance and advice" of its leaders. For their part, Cuban revolutionists have extended solidarity to like-minded fighters throughout Latin America. But at no time have they sought to impose their views or, as the State Department claims, play a "direct tutelary role."

Fidel's Stand

In his speech on July 26 last year, Fidel Castro explained Cuba's attitude in this way:

"... We have no use for any vanity, for any kind of chauvinism, or for any kind of hegemonism. ... Our Revolution is not interested in appearing as the leader or leading the peoples. We'd be very glad to bring up the rear—the very rear—of a whole revolutionary Latin America and Caribbean. What we're interested in is the revolution, the liberation of our peoples."

Charges of "Cuban intervention" in El Salvador are nothing new. "Actually, for twenty years we've been hearing that Castro was sending people into El Salvador," says former U.S. ambassador Murat Williams, who served in El Salvador in the early 1960s. "I heard it when I was there all the time."

"Any time there was any disorder among the

bait the Cuban leader with charges of intervention in El Salvador. The following exchange took place.

"Castro. What's happening in El Salvador? There is a corrupt, tyrannical, genocidal government, and the people are no longer willing to tolerate the regime. Why must we be blamed for that?"

"Rather. Because you were training the people, you are supplying the arms, the money. ..."

"Castro. I think that the United States is the one that has trained all those armies—the one in Chile that murders the people, the one in Uruguay that has killed thousands of Uruguayans, Somoza's army and that of El Salvador—the United States has trained and equipped all the genocidal governments in this hemisphere, not Cuba."

Washington Backed Dictator

The State Department tries to wash the blood from Washington's hands by claiming that "from 1977 to January 1981 the United States provided no weapons or ammunition to the Salvadoran armed forces."

But what Castro said is true. "In 1948, we sent our first military mission to El Salvador," ex-ambassador Williams said in the April 17, 1980, *New York Times*. "By 1961, when I was back in El Salvador as Ambassador, we had both a large Army

mission and Air Force mission. In fact, there were more men in the Air Force mission than El Salvador had either pilots or planes."

Between 1950 and 1979, the Pentagon trained no less than 1,971 Salvadoran officers. Between 1957 and 1974, the Office of Public Safety of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) spent \$2.1 million to train 448 Salvadoran police and to provide arms and equipment to the Salvadoran security forces.

A 1978 Defense Department study cited the AID's conclusion that, as a result of its program, "the [Salvadoran] National Police ... has advanced from a non-descript, cuartel-bound group of poorly trained men to a well-disciplined, well-trained, and respected uniformed corps."

While the AID program was directed mainly toward the National Police from 1957 to 1963, the emphasis shifted to the National Guard—the most brutally repressive of El Salvador's security bodies—between 1963 and 1974.

Prize Pupil

One of the star graduates of Washington's training programs is none other than Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson, the former intelligence officer who is widely believed to be the head of the right-wing death squads in El Salvador. D'Aubuisson attended the International Police Academy in Washington in 1965 and trained with U.S. Special Forces in the Panama Canal Zone in 1971.

From the late 1940s to the mid-1970s, the Salvadoran armed forces received nearly all their equipment from the United States. After 1975, the regime also bought aircraft, tanks, and other matériel from the Israeli, French, and Brazilian governments.

Between 1950 and 1979, U.S. "security assistance" to El Salvador officially totaled \$16.72 million. The figure went up precisely in the years when the regime was becoming more repressive: "... while the average annual U.S. military aid during the period 1950-69 was approximately \$400,000, in the period 1970-75 it was approximately \$1.4 million, an increase of 250%. In 1976 U.S. military aid increased again by 57%."⁸

It is true that no fresh military aid was allotted to El Salvador by Washington between 1977 and 1980. But this is not because it was not offered. Dictator Romero simply refused to accept it—publicly, at least—because he was displeased with criticisms a State Department report had made of his regime's violations of human rights.

But the Pentagon's Military Assistance Advisory Group was not pulled out of El Salvador during that period, and U.S. officials played a role in facilitating Romero's arms purchases from U.S. allies.

Credibility Gap

One more of the "extreme claims" that the State Department gets indignant about in the White Paper is "that the United States has military bases and several hundred troops in El Salvador." In fact, the White Paper protests, "the United States has no bases and fewer than 50 military personnel there."

Let's leave aside the fact that the number of acknowledged military personnel has already topped fifty since the White Paper was published, and now stands at fifty-four if the Pentagon is to be believed.

There is good reason to be skeptical about Washington's statements as to the limits of its military involvement in El Salvador, and not to dismiss as "extreme claims" charges by Salvadoran opposition groups that the U.S. role is greater than currently acknowledged.

After all, it was not so long ago that the American people learned that their government had lied consistently to cover up the dropping of 104,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia in 1969-1970. And who was the official in the U.S. embassy in Phnompenh who designated the targets for that secret bombing? None other than Thomas Enders—Reagan's prospective nominee for the office of Assistant Secretary of State for ... Inter-American Affairs!

The most grotesque lie of all in the White Paper does not involve a cover-up of military moves, though, but rather is the assertion that Washington is helping in El Salvador to "create jobs, feed the hungry, improve health and housing and edu-

7. Williams is quoted in the recent (and excellent) film *El Salvador: The Next Vietnam?*, televised on the Public Broadcasting System (PBS).

8. *U.S. Military Involvement in El Salvador 1947-1980* (San Francisco: U.S. Friends of the Salvadoran Revolution, 1980), p. 9.

cation and support the reforms that are opening and modernizing El Salvador's economy."

U.S. Bars Aid

The reality is this:

Jobs. U.S.-owned businesses that operate in the "free zone" of San Salvador have shut down most of their operations, throwing more than 3,500 Salvadorans out of work.

Food. U.S. diplomats who visited European capitals in February tried to force the European Economic Community to deny \$1.5 million in emergency food aid to charitable organizations in El Salvador.

Health care. The U.S.-backed government has militarized hospitals in El Salvador, restricted imports of medical supplies, and limited emergency blood supplies to military hospitals.

Housing. The Salvadoran army and National Guard conduct "scorched earth" operations against entire villages suspected of sympathy toward the rebels. Houses are burned to the ground, sometimes with napalm, and the peasants lucky enough to escape are forced to take shelter beneath the trees.

Education. Between January and October 1980—precisely the period during which Washington claims the Salvadoran junta's "reforms" were beginning to take hold—at least ninety teachers were killed by the security forces. In the same period at least nineteen primary and secondary schools were raided, and on July 26, 1980, the army carried out an occupation of the National University during which twenty-two students were killed. Numerous teachers have gone into exile and in the western part of the country some 85 percent of the schools have reportedly been closed.⁹

* * *

Get Out the Truth!

Behind all of the White Paper's accusations of "terrorism" against the Salvadoran rebels, and all its pious claims to support a "nonviolent" solution

9. Amnesty International circular #AMR 29/56/80, October 24, 1980.



in El Salvador, lies an old notion: People who are oppressed and exploited have no right to take up arms against an unjust regime.

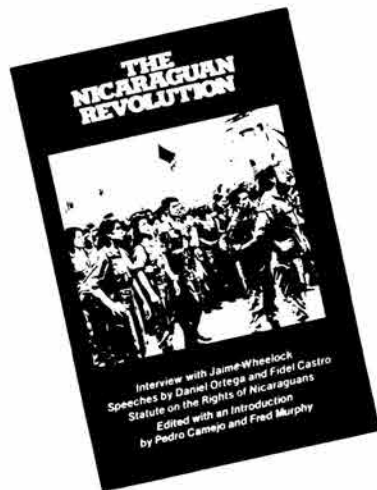
But this argument is becoming more and more threadbare as dictators like the shah in Iran, Somoza in Nicaragua, and Gairy in Grenada find themselves on the losing end of confrontations with their own peoples.

The American people are not buying the bill of goods the State Department is trying to sell. The reaction to the White Paper and Reagan's attempt to whip up a new crusade against communism in El

Salvador was so negative—both at home and abroad—that a top official called reporters in to the State Department March 12 to ask that the press "not make this thing such a big deal."

Making a big "big deal" out of Washington's lies about the true situation in El Salvador is top priority for U.S. supporters of the Salvadoran people's right to self-determination. Getting out the truth can help to fuel opposition to Reagan's intervention and hasten the day when the Salvadorans will finally have the just society they have been fighting to achieve for so long.

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Fight for steel district director heats up

By Jon Hillson

GARY, Ind.—By March 4, both incumbent James Balanoff and challenger Jack Parton had received the sixteen nominations necessary to be on the May 28 ballot for director of United Steelworkers District 31.

There are 260 locals in the 110,000-member district, the USWA's largest.

The nominations process isn't a very accurate gauge for measuring the candidates' support. Less than ten percent of the membership turn out for nomination meetings—far fewer than for elections.

In District 31, which has many small locals, staff representatives have a lot of influence. Their appointment is subject to approval by the union's international president, Lloyd McBride.

McBride is backing Parton, president of Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works. So Parton has the clout and money of the majority of staff behind him.

Predictably, Parton won the nomination at Gary Works, while Balanoff got the nod at

Local 6787 at Bethlehem Steel in Burns Harbor, Indiana.

At Local 1011, representing workers at Jones and Laughlin, Parton's backers charged Balanoff supporters with ballot box stuffing. They discovered fifteen poorly xeroxed fake ballots, smaller in size than the official ones, all marked Balanoff.

Parton, who defeated Balanoff at 1011 by a vote of 278 to 162, said he would urge an investigation by the union's international office.

Balanoff backers had expected to lose that nomination: the only union members with official access to the ballots were appointees of Local 1011 president Norman Purdue, a strong Parton man.

Both candidates have stepped up their campaigning as the nominations process continues. Two of the most important tests are at the end of the month: Republic Steel Local 1033 and U.S. Steel Local 65, both in South Chicago.

In both locals, some former pro-Balanoff office holders have gone over to Parton.

Phila. Transport Workers strike over takeback demands

By Steve Eckardt

PHILADELPHIA—With wide community support, Transport Workers Union Local 234 went on strike here March 15 against the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA). Local 234 members operate the city's buses, subways, and trolleys—used by more than 400,000 people a day.

In addition to picketing bus, trolley, and subway depots and terminals, the TWU picketed Conrail installations March 16.

Conrail workers honored the pickets. Conrail commuter service and the suburban SEPTA Red Arrow lines were stalled for much of the Monday morn-

ing rush hour.

The courts have since issued injunctions barring the TWU from picketing Conrail and restricting pickets at Red Arrow terminals.

The strikers have received the support of AFL-CIO chief Ed Toohey. A wide range of community groups and the TWU announced February 28 that they were allying to oppose government-SEPTA moves to gut mass transit.

In the face of public opposition, SEPTA backed down from announced plans to lay off more than 3,000 of its 4,900 drivers, mechanics, and cashiers.

But as of March 17, SEPTA stood by its demand that the hiring of part-time workers be allowed, and refused to give up the "maintenance reorganization" scheme it claimed was

granted by the last contract.

The reorganization plan tramples on seniority rights, allowing the assignment of workers outside their job categories.

And it eliminates provisions that encourage upgrading workers in lower classifications before higher-classified workers can be shifted to other jobs in the same grade. The provision created opportunities for Black and women workers to advance.

SEPTA spokesperson John Markle suggested that he may seek a court order forcing the workers back on the job without a contract.

Spirits on picket lines are high, despite the absence of strike benefits. "Nobody wants a strike," said one driver, "but we've got to stand up and fight. We can't take no more."

Steve Eckardt was a member of Transport Workers Union Local 234 for two years.



Two Miami frame-up victims freed

By Andrea Baron

MIAMI—On March 11 Dade County prosecutors dropped murder charges against two young Blacks. Lonnie Bradley and Sam Williams had been arrested and charged with the murder of a white man during the Miami rebellion.

The prosecution's key witness against Williams was unable to identify him. The witness, Mary Kinsey, is legally blind and suffers from tunnel vision. The prosecution's entire case was based on her identification.

The other two witnesses who were to testify against Bradley recanted their statements.

Prosecutor Leonard Glick also admitted that two tape-recorded interviews with a polygraph expert did not link

Bradley to any crime. "It became quite obvious after listening to the tapes that no incriminating statements had been made," Glick said.

So far, four young Blacks have been convicted of frame-up charges stemming from the rebellion. One, James McCullough, is serving a fifteen-year prison term, and three others will be sentenced March 17. One more trial, that of nineteen-year-old Nathaniel Lane, is set for April 13.

"And they're just as innocent as I am," Lonnie Bradley declared. "They just pick people out of the mob and say they did it."

Police have not charged anyone in the deaths of Blacks who were killed during the rebellion.



Lonnie Bradley embraces his mother after all charges against him were dropped.

Irish nationalist in U.S. jail faces extradition

By Marc Lichtman

BROOKLYN—If the British and U.S. governments have their way, Dessie Mackin will be extradited to British-occupied Northern Ireland, where he faces frame-up charges of attempted murder of a British soldier.

Mackin, twenty-five, came to the United States to organize a speaking tour for former H-Block prisoners. Because the State Department will not grant visas for released Irish political prisoners, he had to enter the country without one.

He was arrested on October 1 last year and later agreed to accept deportation to the Republic of Ireland, where he has lived for two years. Ten minutes before his plane was to

leave, the government informed him that it was breaking its agreement and would seek his extradition to Northern Ireland. Mackin has been denied bail.

Dessie Mackin was held for three and a half years without trial in Northern Ireland's notorious Long Kesh prison.

In 1978 Mackin and Bobby Gamble, a friend, were ambushed by British soldiers. Mackin was shot three times, Gamble five. Although both were unarmed, they were charged with attempted murder.

The Diplock Court admitted there was no evidence against them. Gamble was released. The indictment against Mackin still stands because he

left Northern Ireland before the trial.

On February 25, fifty people attended a forum on the Dessie Mackin case, sponsored by the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee. Speakers included Mackin's lawyer Frank Durkin, John Breheny of the Irish National Caucus, and Martin Galvin of Irish Northern Aid.

The group sponsored a demonstration on February 28 at the Metropolitan Correctional Center, where Mackin is being held.

For more information about the Dessie Mackin case and about other political prisoners in Northern Ireland, write the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee, 135 West 4th Street, New York, New York 10012.

Pullman workers: 'fund mass transit'

By Jon Hillson

HAMMOND, Ind.—Steelworkers from Pullman Standard, joined by brothers and sisters from other steelworker locals, protested cuts in federal aid to mass transit at a March 5 picket line at the federal building here.

More than fifty participated in the event, called by USWA Local 1834 at Pullman. Steelworkers from Local 65 at U.S. Steel South Works, Local 1010 at Inland Steel, and Local 12755 at NIPSCO also turned out.

The protest called attention to the U.S. Senate's killing of a proposed increase from \$7 bil-

lion to \$25 billion in aid for mass transit.

Such funding could have meant a recall of 2,600 laid-off workers at Pullman Standard, where a total shutdown now seems certain. About 400 workers are currently employed at the company's Chicago and Hammond plants, finishing up their last order.

The picket line concluded with a march to the local office of Indiana Senator Richard Lugar, who engineered the blow to mass transit. There, District 31 Director James Balanoff and several laid off workers went nose-to-nose with Lugar's aide Tim Sanders,

who defended the senator's antilabor record.

Balanoff blasted Lugar's excuse of being an "inflation fighter":

"The way to cure the economy is to put people back to work," Balanoff said. "Think how much steel would go into making those passenger cars. If they're thinking about people, they'll keep the plant open."

The efforts by Pullman workers to explain the need for mass transit shows the government should "provide jobs for the people who want them," Balanoff said. "That garbage about people who 'don't want to work' is just that: garbage."

Councilman censured for support to Black GIs

Mason: 'I can use my office to help community'

By Tony Thomas

SEASIDE, Calif.—The February 16 meeting of the city council here condemned socialist Councilman Mel Mason for his support to Black GIs at nearby Fort Ord. This censure motion forbade Mason from politically identifying himself as a council member.

Mason was elected as an independent candidate supported by Seaside's Black community. He is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and he also serves on the National Party Organizing Committee of the National Black Independent Political Party.

The other four council members are Democrats or Republicans.

The motion came after Mason wrote a letter to local newspapers supporting the demands of Black Troops for Liberation, an organization of soldiers at Fort Ord.

They faced discrimination in promotions and assignments, racist slurs from white officers, and the growth of Ku Klux Klan and Nazi activity among white troops. Gangs of white soldiers have attacked Black GIs.

In December, Black Troops for Liberation published a letter in local newspapers demanding an end to such racist treatment.

Black troops

Mason responded by writing in support of the troops and warning of the danger that Black GIs like them might be sent to racist wars by the Reagan administration.

Mason also invited the GIs to a meeting of community activists and to the founding meeting of the National Black Independent Political Party's Seaside chapter.

"My letter to the papers pointed out that the maneuvers some of the troops had been on in Panama meant they might be sent to Africa or El Salvador to kill non-white people like themselves," Mason told me.

"The army put the troops on maneuvers the night we were scheduled to get together. They also threatened them with the Hatch Act [a federal law that restricts political activity by government employees]." Mason said that the city council motion condemned him because his antiwar statements were "un-American." They also claimed that he was destroying the relations between the city and the base.

"What I did," he continued, "is bring together the rank-and-file soldiers and



Mel Mason, socialist city councilman from Seaside, California

the Black community. We established some good relations around this question, overcoming some of the divisions between people in Seaside and the soldiers."

Support from community

Mason received support from the city's Black community, including editorials in the *Post News Sentinel*, the town's Black weekly. He told me that retired Black soldiers who had previously been more conservative on such issues came to his support.

"In fact," Mason said, "the whole thing has been turned around. The motion condemning me has no effect, and right now the grand jury is investigating the fact that the motion was prepared by an illegal secret meeting of the council, without me."

Mason said the attack against him was part of a campaign against him by capitalist politicians in Seaside.

"They've been trying to find something to get support for a recall movement against me," Mason said.

"They have always failed," he said, "because the things I have been able to do have won support in the Black community and from some of the unions."

Mason continued: "Independent candidates of a Black party and of the labor movement are going to find that this doesn't isolate them from the community. Being independent of the

Democratic Party means that they can propose these kinds of things and engage in struggles in a way that will get them support in the community, support from Black and working people."

Strike support

"One of the things that has gotten to them," Mason said of his opponents, "is that I have supported every major strike since I was elected."

"When the carpenters went on strike last spring, and when the social service workers went on strike last fall, I rallied to their support. I gave press conferences showing their side of the story. I got Black community groups like the NAACP to support them. I walked their picket lines."

"A lot of white carpenters," he said, "who didn't understand what I was about during the campaign thought I was terrific for supporting them. Their business agent told me that he had never heard of anything like that before, a council member walking picket lines, holding press conferences to defend the strikers' point of view, not to slander them."

"I can't do magic as a councilman," Mason added, "but I can use my office to bring these things to the attention of the community as a whole helping unions and community organizations to organize themselves, using my office to find out what laws and programs are available for them."

Mason pointed to a struggle in a housing project where he was able to help the tenants organization fight a big rent increase. He also said that he had used his position to help elderly residents of another housing development fight for the project to receive

federal rent subsidies.

"A man from HUD [Department of Housing and Urban Development] told me that he had never seen a whole project get these payments and it was only because we had raised so much hell around it," Mason added.

Affirmative action

Mason has also pushed through three affirmative-action measures.

"I went around the community pointing out that anyone who would oppose this kind of program was a racist. Then the community organizations like the NAACP and the Citizens League for Progress put this forward as a demand on the city council."

Two measures Mason introduced give minority businesses a 4 percent credit in bidding for city contracts. This means that a minority bid of \$10,400 would equal a bid of \$10,000 by a white contractor. Another measure would require at least 9 percent minority contractors in any major city construction program.

"I also proposed a measure that made some of the other affirmative-action programs concrete," Mason told me.

"Previous programs had said that city contractors have minorities and women, but said nothing about in what positions."

"They could stick the women in the office, and the minorities in the lowest-paid, hardest-work positions," he said.

So Mason got the council to pass a law demanding that city contractors have at least 20 percent women and minorities at all levels to get contracts.

Seven-day job

Mason finished our interview by saying "Some folks think that being on the city council means that I just go to a meeting every Thursday night if I feel like it. It may be that way for some of the others, but for me it is a seven-day-a-week job."

"I have to sit on seven different city and county boards and committees. I have to work with people in the community about issues coming up."

"Right now, we are preventing the cops from passing a curfew that could be used to harass Black youth and bars and clubs in our community owned by Black people."

Mason pointed out one reason his schedule is busier than the other council members. He is relating to events in Black communities around the country and the world. In fact, he was leaving in a few days for a meeting in Atlanta about the murders of Black children and a visit to Grenada's second anniversary celebration.

British gov't sends arms to Chile, denies aid to Grenada

The British government has admitted that its refusal to provide economic and other aid to Grenada is based on political grounds.

Nicholas Ridley, the British Foreign Office minister responsible for Latin American and Caribbean affairs, declared during a tour of several Caribbean countries in January that the British government aided only its "friends" and those who viewed life "as we do."

Ridley was explaining why the British government planned to exclude Grenada from the Eastern Caribbean countries that will receive British assistance in rehabilitating their banana industries following the damage caused by Hurricane Allen last year. About 40 percent of Grenada's banana industry had been destroyed by the hurricane.

Although the British government had also refused to sell two armored cars to Grenada in December 1979, Ridley defended British arms sales to the repressive

Chilean junta. "We sell arms to all countries not likely to use them against us and countries not likely to use them against their own people," he claimed.

The February 7 issue of the *Free West Indian*, published in St. George's, Grenada, commented, "It is clear that the British Foreign Office is part of the imperialist effort to isolate Grenada from its Caricom [Caribbean Community] neighbours, even to the extreme of pitting Caricom governments against each other."

On February 2, following Ridley's visit to St. Lucia, St. Lucian Foreign Minister George Odum spoke out against the British government's stance toward Grenada. He also revealed that he had been asked to criticize Grenada on the grounds that it had not held elections since the overthrow of the Gairy dictatorship in 1979.

Odum refused to do so, stating, "Caribbean governments should be mature enough not to dance to that tune."

Harlem tenants sue FBI, cops for illegal raid

By Melvin Chappell

NEW YORK—A \$92 million-dollar lawsuit has been filed against the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the New York City Police Department by residents of a Harlem apartment building. The FBI and the cops are being charged with forceful and illegal entry of four apartments, the ransacking of the apartments, and brutal harassment of the tenants.

The suit was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Conference of Black Lawyers on behalf of the tenants of 92 Morningside Drive. The raid there took place at 2 a.m. last April 19 by fifty agents of the FBI dressed in police SWAT-like uniforms and armed to the teeth with shotguns and machine guns. The agents said they were responding to a "tip" that Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) was receiving refuge in the building.

During the raid the agents had

blocked off four blocks. For four hours they permitted no one on the street and allowed no one to enter the building. Sharpshooters were placed on the rooftops.

The agents showed little concern for the tenants as they busted their way through doors. They advised no one of their rights and did not identify themselves. One tenant was struck on the head with the butt of a gun during questioning. The agents had no search warrant.

The case will also raise many questions about FBI conduct. They committed an illegal act by forcefully entering an apartment without a search warrant. This took place only weeks after the Supreme Court ruled this unlawful. The case could answer such questions as: Who gave the order for the raid? Can the FBI commit such crimes against people without fear of punishment?

French and British CPs gang up on immigrant workers

In combating capitalist efforts to divide the working class, it is vital to develop the strongest bonds of solidarity with immigrant workers from impoverished countries, who are compelled to take the worst, lowest paying jobs. This is particularly true in relation to undocumented workers, who suffer the most of all.

Here, this has meant demanding an end to racist immigration quotas, and an open U.S. border.

One group which shrinks from supporting the demand for an open border is the Communist Party. It favors instead that border crossings into the United States from Mexico be "liberalized."

This cop-out is no aberration by the U.S. Communist Party. For example, the French Communist Party is engaged in a shameful reactionary campaign against immigrant workers there.

these views.

The common root of all these positions is the racist claim that immigrants are the problem, not racism. This argument is false and reactionary. We will not mince words: it is the same argument used by the extreme right wing of the Tory Party.

It is true that there is often social unrest in areas where there are many immigrants—or black people born in France or Britain. This unrest is stirred up by racists.

The way to stop it is not by campaigning for a halt to further immigration but by confronting the racists and their arguments, and by attacking the social system that breeds unemployment, bad housing and poverty.

Immigrants are not responsible for increased rate charges; nor do they cause unemployment. It is capitalism and its economic priorities that produce these and other social ills.



British and French CPs only follow Stalin's tradition when they back racist, chauvinist policies.

This past Christmas eve, in the town of Vitry, a dormitory housing workers from Mali was attacked by a gang using a bulldozer in an attempt to drive the workers out. This despicable action had the support of the Communist mayor of Vitry. It, and similar acts, coincide with the French CP's stand in favor of shutting off immigration.

Here we publish an excerpt from an article on the French situation that appeared in *Socialist Challenge*, a British weekly. This is followed by excerpts from a statement assailing the French CP stand by the branch of the Martinique Communist Party in France.

It's official—the British Communist Party supports its French counterpart's racist campaign against immigration.

In a grovelling article in last Thursday's *Morning Star*, Harry Samson justified the French Communists' call for a halt to all immigration.

The main argument of Samson's 750-word article, headlined "French media smears Communists," was that "to avoid adding to the 2 m[illion] French and immigrant workers already unemployed the French Communists are calling for a halt to immigration in the mutual interests of all workers in France, irrespective of their origin."

This echoes the speech by Georges Marchais, the French CP leader, to a party rally two weeks ago in which he said that it was "inadmissible to allow immigrant workers into France when we have 2m French and immigrant people on the dole."

Too strong a concentration of immigrants, he continued, "created tensions among the population and increased social charges on ratepayers."

In other words, French Communists think that immigrants cause social unrest, put the rates up, and aggravate unemployment. And now the *Morning Star* defends the French CP holding

If the economy was organized in the workers' interests money would be spent on jobs not bombs, on improved social services not interest repayments to the finance houses.

By campaigning for an end to immigration the French Communist Party is whipping up reactionary sentiment against one of the most oppressed groups in French society. It should instead be fighting for workers' unity against the capitalist class and its government, headed by Giscard D'Estaing, whose economic policies are responsible for the present crisis.

Martinique statement:

On February 2 the branch of the Martinique Communist Party in France denounced the "recent positions emanating from the P.C.F. [French Communist Party] concerning the problem of immigration."

The Martinique Communist Party branch pointed to "the inexcusable methods used at Vitry against the workers from Mali."

Since then the French CP has justified the attack on the African workers, even organizing demonstrations in support of the mayor of Vitry.

The Martinique Communists also condemned the CP mayors of Nanterre and Saint Denis for refusing housing to mostly Black immigrant workers from the French colonies.

The Nanterre mayor, in refusing a housing request from one person from the Antilles, complained about "their way of life: frequent and late night parties—noisy conversations—loud music."

Similar incidents have occurred elsewhere. On February 7 the Communist Party mayor of Montigny-les-Cormeilles led a demonstration at a housing project against a Moroccan family the CP accused of drug trafficking. And in another municipality, the CP opposed granting funds for an Islamic cultural center.

Solidarity with Central America

and the Caribbean



Houston solidarity picks up steam

Bob Warren from Houston reports that during the past few weeks some very important meetings have taken place there around El Salvador.

On February 27 Ramón Cardona of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) spoke at the University of Houston to ninety people about the current situation in El Salvador. A film showing of *El Salvador: Revolution or Death* raised \$175 for the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

The next day Cardona spoke in the Chicano community to about 250 people, half of whom were Central Americans and nearly half Chicano. The film was also shown and another \$175 raised.

On March 1 the International Association of Machinists Lodge 12, which organizes eighteen shops in Houston, passed a resolution calling on President Reagan to end shipments of military aid to the Salvadoran junta and urging support to the Studds bill, a congressional bill calling for an end to economic and military aid to the Salvadoran junta.

In the flurry of activities several new CISPES chapters have been formed, one at the University of Houston; a labor committee to work with the unions in Houston; and a professional group for doctors, lawyers, and others.

Upcoming events include a March 22 interfaith forum on human rights in El Salvador; a March 24 vigil service; a March 24 rally on the campus of the University of Houston; an April 18 march through Houston; and a Latin American film series March 22-29.

Bill hits U.S. aid to Guatemala

Representative Tom Harkin, Democrat from Iowa, will be introducing a resolution into Congress that would effectively ban economic and military aid to the government of Guatemala because of its human rights violations.

The resolution is based on the recently issued Amnesty International report on Guatemala, which accused the government of General Romeo Lucas García of directing a program of political murder which, since coming to power in June 1978, has taken 5,000 lives.

The Committee of Solidarity with the People of Guatemala is asking for help in gaining more sponsors for the resolution.

For more information contact the Committee of Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, Attn: Samuel Rothko, P.O. Box 270 Wyckoff Heights Station, Brooklyn, New York 11237, telephone (212) 533-9176.

5,000 in Canada march for El Salvador

Socialist Voice, newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada, reports that more than 5,000 people marched February 28 in the first coordinated actions of the Canadian movement for solidarity with El Salvador.

Some 1,200 people marched in Montreal; 1,000 in Vancouver; 500 in Ottawa; 400 in Toronto; and hundreds more in Quebec City, Edmonton, Winnipeg, and other cities.

These activities followed on the heels of a national student day of protest in Quebec on February 23. Students in more than a dozen institutions across the province collected thousands of signatures on a petition asking the Canadian government to oppose U.S. intervention, and hundreds of dollars for the Revolutionary Democratic Front was raised.

At the Ottawa rally, New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent voiced support to the FDR and slammed both the American and Canadian governments' position. Broadbent concluded his speech with advice to Prime Minister Trudeau, who was soon to play host to Reagan. Referring to Reagan's upcoming trip to Canada, he said, "... Prime Minister Trudeau, who has expressed some concern in the past for the Third World, should live up to that expression of concern and say clearly to the president of the United States in the strongest possible language: Get out of El Salvador and leave it to the people in that land themselves!"

5,000 Parisians march for El Salvador

About 5,000 people marched on the American embassy in Paris on February 25. The demonstration was sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

In Caen 300 people turned out for a meeting February 6 sponsored by the Chile-Latin America Committee, the French-Chilean Cultural Group, Socialist Party, Revolutionary Communist League, and Revolutionary Communist Youth.

The audience listened to speakers from the FDR and viewed a film about the struggle in El Salvador. Approximately \$600 was contributed to the FDR.

It may not be Gallup, but . . .

M. Falbo reported that KQV radio in Pittsburgh conducted a poll on March 2. In answer to a question on El Salvador, 1,342 people phoned in to say "no" to military advisers being sent there. Only 172 were in favor.

Maybe this is why Harris and Gallup haven't conducted a poll on El Salvador yet.

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson

González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Behind the 1941 Smith Act trial:

By Vivian Sahner

On July 15, 1941, twenty-nine people—members of the Socialist Workers Party and leaders of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544—were indicted by a federal grand jury.

An article last week described the special place that Local 544 held in Minneapolis and in the labor movement as a whole.

Led by revolutionary socialists, it was respected for leading key organizing drives in 1934 that opened the way for Minneapolis to become a union town.

When Roosevelt and big business began the drive toward World War II, leaders of Local 544 led the way in explaining that labor had no stake in fighting against German, Italian, or Japanese workers.

In the pages of the *Northwest Organizer*, the weekly newspaper of the Minneapolis Teamsters, they told the truth about the character of the so-called "war for democracy." World War II would be a battle between capitalist countries for markets, just as World War I had been.

They tapped a deep antiwar sentiment in the ranks of labor in this country. The Minneapolis Central Labor Union and the Minnesota State Federation of Labor both endorsed antiwar resolutions.

Labor resented the no-strike pledges demanded by the U.S. rulers. With the economic growth from war production prices skyrocketed. More than two million American workers went on strike in 1941 to demand wage increases.

The government's answer was to outlaw strikes "for the war effort."

Workers who defied the strike ban, like those at North American Aviation in Los Angeles, were forced back to work at army bayonet point.

But the government was never able to completely push its anti-working-class program down the throats of trade unionists. In 1943 the miners told the government to shove it and won a \$1.50 an hour increase.

After that the no-strike pledge was challenged time and again. By mid-1944 more than two million workers had gone out in 5,000 strikes.

One of the tools Roosevelt used to crush the combativity of workers was a revitalized and expanded FBI.

Between 1934 and 1939 the FBI secretly expanded a step at a time.

Then on September 6, 1939, Roosevelt announced, "The Attorney General has been requested by me to instruct the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice to take charge of investigative work in matters relating to espionage, sabotage, and violations of the neutrality regulations."

On the same day Attorney General Frank Murphy told the press, "Foreign agents and those engaged in espionage will no longer find this country a happy hunting ground for their activities."

FBI field offices were instructed to recruit or place informers in each of the nation's "war plants." By 1942 there were 23,476 FBI finks reporting on labor and radical activities in 4,000 factories and mills.

Union leaders like those in Local 544 became targets of this expanded FBI.

The government leveled charges against twenty-nine 544 leaders based on the Smith Act, which had been recently passed by Congress as a weapon in the war drive. The Smith Act, which is still on the books today, is a grossly undemocratic law restricting freedom of speech.

Another FBI frame-up

The 1941 trial was the culmination of a series of attacks on the Teamsters.

A 1939 frame-up of seven leaders of Teamsters locals in Des Moines, Omaha, and Sioux City was typical of other FBI operations.

During a bakery strike by Teamsters Local 383, a truck was burned near the Iowa-Minnesota line—far from Sioux City, where the strike took place. The media tried to pin the blame on the strikers.

Union officials denounced the smear. They suggested the company had deliberately burned one of its rigs in a bid for public sympathy. After the strike everyone forgot the incident—except the FBI.

Months later secret indictments of the union leaders were followed by swift arrests. Once the unionists were behind bars, outrageously high bail was set.

During that trial FBI agents and stool pigeons, coached as government witnesses, presented false evidence.

Seven Teamster leaders served two-year prison terms.

Sixteen leaders of Local 544's unemployed unit,

The Socialist Workers Party is about to put the federal government on trial.

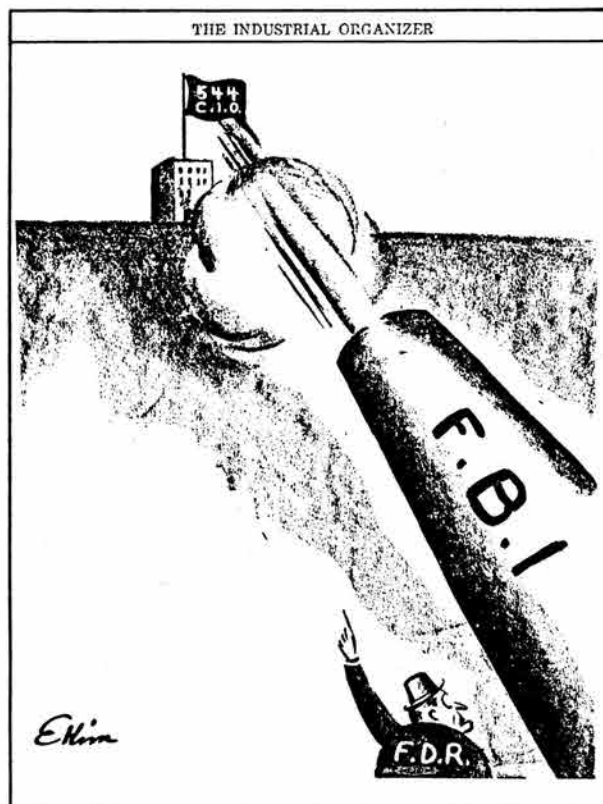
This won't be the first time the SWP and the government are squared off in a major courtroom confrontation.

In 1941, the government railroaded eighteen members of the SWP to prison. Seven were officers, organizers, or job stewards of Teamsters Local 544, in Minneapolis. They were leaders of a labor movement in that city that opposed the entry of the United States into World War II.

Farrell Dobbs's *Teamster Bureaucracy* explains why the 1941 trial occurred when it did. He tells part of the little-known history of labor's opposition to the war.

Dobbs examined how the FBI fingered and framed-up union militants.

A closer look at this episode from labor history shows why the current trial of the socialist suit—when the government and its secret police will be put on the stand—is so important to trade unionists today.



Seven days after a court ordered Local 544 to end publication of the Minneapolis Teamsters' *Northwest Organizer*, Local 544 published the *Industrial Organizer*. This cartoon appeared in the second issue dated July 24, 1941.

the Federal Workers Section, were also railroaded to jail in 1939. On the undemocratic premise that "You can't strike against the government," they were convicted for conspiring to deprive the government of workers' services.

How did the government gather evidence against the sixteen? The July 24, 1939, *Minneapolis Tribune* explains, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, about twenty-five of them, were in a good position to learn what took place. . . . Wearing overalls and other articles of workmen's clothing, the agents, posing as pickets and onlookers, mingled with the crowd surging around the project building."

Bosses up to own tricks

Meanwhile, the bosses tried some other angles.

A company union, the "Associated Council of Independent Unions," was set up. Agents of that outfit were planted in Local 544, and on February 16, 1938, they brought suit against the local's executive board.

Sweeping charges were made that officials had levied unauthorized fines against members, helped themselves to union money for personal use, and intimidated members who sought a financial accounting.

The suit was quickly dubbed the "fink suit" by trade unionists throughout Minneapolis.

The court raked through the local's books but wasn't able to dig up any proof of misconduct.

Since Teamster locals everywhere had been following the case, Local 544's victory gave it additional prestige in the union. Even Daniel Tobin, international president of the Teamsters, was affected.

Referring to the fink suit in the May 1940, issue of the *International Brotherhood of Teamsters* magazine, he said, "There is no greater curse than to have an individual member who wants to take the

local union to court."

It wasn't the first time Tobin had good words for the leadership of Local 544. During the truckers' over-the-road organizing battles Tobin was moved to remark, "I have never known a better conducted strike or better union men than those that were engaged in this conflict."

Like all union bureaucrats, Tobin played a balancing act between the needs of the union members and the desires of the bosses. He praised the militant class-conscious leadership of Local 544 when the pressure of the class struggle pushed him hard enough in that direction.

It did not signify any fundamental change in the Teamster president's political outlook. He continued to think in terms of "partnership" with the ruling class.

His personal ambitions were soon to become more decisive than ever. In July 1940 the White House announced that Tobin was to be appointed to Roosevelt's staff of administrative assistants.

Tobin's desire to wrest control away from the revolutionary leadership of Local 544 fit hand-in-glove with Roosevelt's union-busting schemes for pushing the workers in this country into World War II.

Committee of 100

In a new move, the government joined forces with a group of finks in Local 544 who styled themselves the Committee of 100.

Hoping to win union posts, these sellouts appealed to a layer in Local 544 who believed the employers, defeated once by a strike, would henceforth bargain in good faith.

Testimony during the Smith Act trial revealed the FBI had assigned two agents, Roy T. Noonan and Thomas Perrin, to work with the committee.

The FBI fed red-baiting tidbits about the leaders of the union to the committee, which in turn helped the FBI finger union militants.

When one Local 544 executive board member complained to Tobin that the FBI was snooping about, Tobin answered, "In answer to your letter . . . first let me say to you that you must not show any disrespect for the representatives of the F.B.I."

"They have many things in their minds that we do not know anything about. As far as I know, they have always been friendly to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters."

The Committee of 100 claimed the socialist leadership of 544 was "provoking" management. But their attempts at red-baiting didn't get very far. They lost in one union election after another.

So they turned to Tobin for help. Together they decided it was time to enforce a reactionary clause in the Teamsters' program that denied "Communists" the right to hold union office.

In May 1941, one month before Local 544's contracts in the industry were to expire, an order came for Local 544 to send a delegation to appear before the Teamsters international executive board in Washington, D.C.

At the meeting Tobin demanded that the local be put into receivership.

When the delegation got back, close to 4,000 Local 544 members turned out to hear a report. Informed the CIO was willing to issue a charter for Local 544, they overwhelmingly voted to quit Tobin's set-up and to join the CIO.

War was fundamental issue

What had brought the differences between the militant leadership of Local 544 and Tobin's class-collaborationist politics to a head? It was the pressure of the government's war drive.

In May 1941, leaders of Local 544 wrote in the *Northwest Organizer*, paper of the Minneapolis Teamsters, "We have waited long and patiently for the leaders of labor to speak out against this war and the war-makers. The time is growing short. Let's hear the heads of the American union movement stand up on their hind legs and denounce war and the government strike-breaking."

On the other hand, in June 1941, Tobin telegraphed President Roosevelt: "We, who are Americans, and members of one of the largest labor organizations in America, or in the world, do solemnly pledge that we will follow out and put into practice any procedure outlined by you and your associates who are handling this most dangerous world situation which is now confronting civilization. . . ."

The gulf between Local 544 and Tobin could not be bridged.

Time magazine explained what happened next.

"With the possibility of other defections among his locals all through the Northwest, Dan Tobin faced a crisis," they wrote on July 7, 1941.

beefed-up FBI unleashed on labor

"Into that crisis last week went agents of FBI, under instructions from Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle, who suddenly swooped down on Minneapolis, raided headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, seized records and materials.

"Mr. Biddle announced that he would place before a grand jury charges of seditious conspiracy among Trotskyist leaders."

What did the FBI unearth in their raid?

Books, flags, and pictures

"Large quantities of Trotskyite propaganda papers and books, two Red flags, and pictures of Russian revolutionary leaders, Nikola [sic] Lenin and Leon Trotsky, were seized and will be laid before the grand jury," one Minneapolis newspaper reported.

The FBI wasn't sure the grand jury would consider possession of books, flags, and pictures to be sufficient proof of conspiracy to violently overthrow the government.

To help the court figure it out the FBI provided some special witnesses. "FBI Agents Who Joined SWP are Called in Probe" announced the headline in the July 3, 1941, *Minneapolis Daily Times*.

It went on to report: "A stream of witnesses testified today. . . . Among them were reported to be the FBI agents who succeeded in getting close to the inner councils of the party in their long investigation of its activities."

On July 15, indictments were returned against

Labor Union to denounce Local 544 as "Communist-led."

Tobin rushed in more than 300 goons to Minneapolis.

Under the circumstances the leaders of Local 544 decided the best way to protect the union's members interests was to vote to return to the AFL, which Local 544 did.

On October 20, 1941, the socialists went on trial.

Socialism on trial

One after another the socialists took the witness stand and explained that the only secret conspiracy was the FBI's.

The socialists, on the other hand, who knew that no socialist revolution was possible without the majority of workers, tried to publicize their ideas as much as possible.

The entire testimony of James P. Cannon, who was the national secretary of the SWP in 1941, is available in *Socialism on Trial*, from Pathfinder Press.

The trial is also described by Farrell Dobbs in *Teamster Bureaucracy*.

How did the government present its case? They continued the smear tactics and dirty tricks they'd been using all along.

Quotes from SWP documents were ripped out of context and presented to the jury. Coached witnesses took the stand and tried to outdo each other

examination that they had been visited by FBI agents.

Sometimes the FBI's best-laid plans blew up in their faces.

They brought Thomas Smith to testify at the trial. Smith was an officer of Omaha Teamsters Local 554, one of the locals accused of burning a truck in the 1939 strike in Sioux City.

The government tried to prove that the socialist leaders of Minneapolis Local 544 caused the violence.

'Why I joined the SWP'

Under questioning by the prosecutor, Smith said:

"What made me join the Socialist Workers Party? I was an officer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in Omaha . . . seeing the work that Local 544 and their officers were doing, helping out the smaller locals, and their entire board and staff, as I knew them, all of them labor-minded, trying to help the poor, and I found out that they were members of it [the SWP] and I figured that if that was what the Socialist Workers Party was, that put out those kind of people, that that was good enough for me and I joined them."

The government groaned and turned to new tricks. They introduced a mysterious letter written to Farrell Dobbs on August 11, 1941—after his indictment. The letter had all the earmarks of the FBI Cointelpro plots, formally begun in the 1950s. It fit right into the government's case that the SWP was out to "sabotage" the military.

The letter asked the SWP to set up a branch in Seattle because the city was "adjacent to the military and naval concentration at Fort Lewis and Bremerton, and Sand Point, it is the gateway to Alaska where great military camps are being established."

Dobbs didn't know the signer of the letter and since the prosecutor had a copy of it, the letter's source seems clear enough—the FBI.

Referring to the *Militant*, the government ranted to the jury, "It would take a saint to read that literature and not be poisoned by it."

After equating the SWP with Benedict Arnold, the prosecutor told the jury in a shocked whisper that the socialists held meetings "on the Sabbath."

The verdict

Taken as a whole the outcome of the trial was something less than a sweeping victory for the Roosevelt administration.

Ten were found not guilty on all charges.

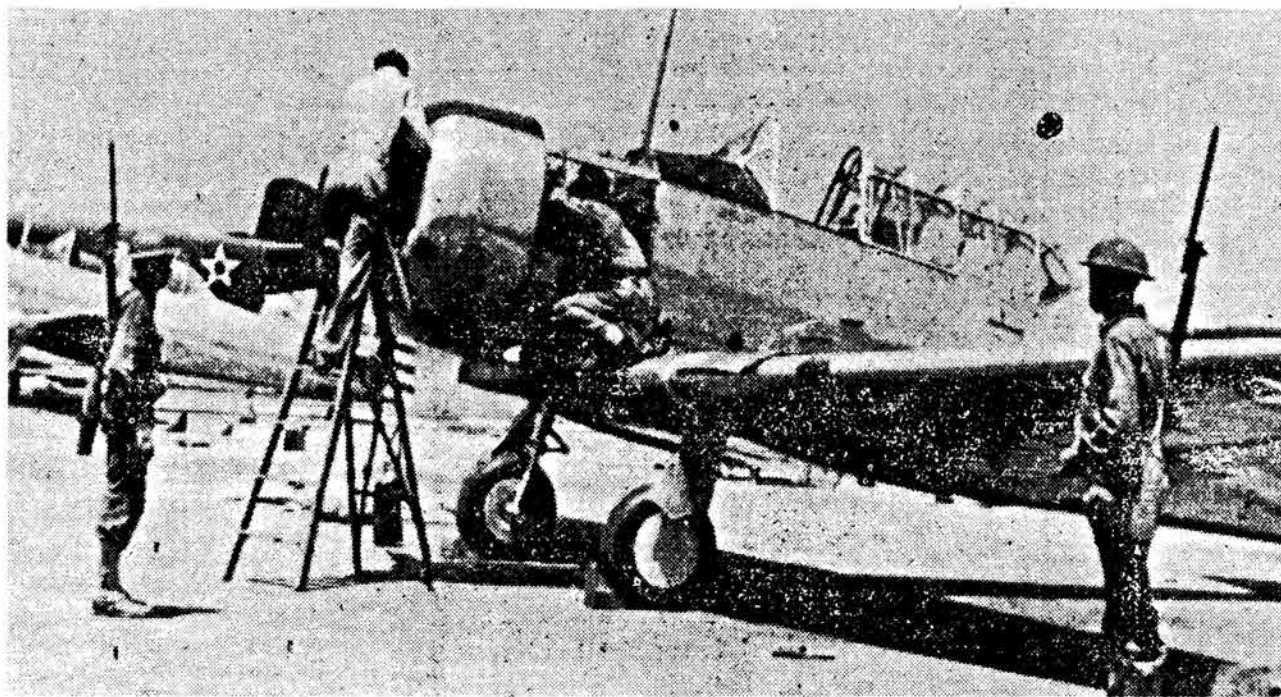
Sentences were handed down the day after Pearl Harbor, December 8, 1941.

Eighteen socialists spent from twelve to sixteen months in prison for their ideas.

But the ideas that were on trial in 1941 did not go away.

A new trial is now about to open. This time the government is the defendant and socialists are the prosecutors. The crimes on trial are the government's. But, in truth, the ideas of the socialists will be on trial once again.

Through the years hundreds were won to socialism by reading the transcript of Cannon's testimony, *Socialism on Trial*. Today the socialists believe that many will be listening and learning the truth about these ideas when they go on trial once more.



Part of President Roosevelt's 'war for democracy' was a demand for no-strike pledges from U.S. workers. In June 1941, he used 3,500 troops armed with guns and bayonets to smash a strike by 10,000 UAW members at North American Aviation in Inglewood, California.

twenty-nine militants in the SWP and Local 544.

The massive assault on Local 544 didn't end labor's opposition to the war. But it did have an impact on the officialdom.

Intimidated, the Minneapolis State Federation of Labor at its 1941 convention pledged support to Tobin against 544-CIO and voted to bar "Trotskyists" from AFL unions in Minnesota.

AFL bureaucrats forced the Minneapolis Central

in flights of fancy.

One government witness, John Novack, claimed that an SWP member named "Rube," whose last name he didn't know, had told him, "We have guns and ammunition planted in the walls of churches. We have bullets that go through an inch and a half or two inches of armored plate, which is better than the United States army."

Several of these witnesses admitted under cross-

UAW begins vote on rejoining AFL-CIO

By Vivian Sahner

On March 10 the executive board of the United Auto Workers voted to recommend reaffiliation with the AFL-CIO. If ratified, the decision would end a thirteen-year split between the two organizations.

Reaffiliation is a good idea.

Other unions outside the AFL-CIO—including the United Mine Workers of America, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union—are reported to be considering the possibility of reaffiliation.

In 1968 the UAW leaders pulled out of the AFL-CIO. They thought Meany's strong support to the U.S. war in Vietnam, his open indifference to Black rights, and the ties between the AFL-CIO's international operations and the CIA were embarrassing to the union movement.

Today these issues and others are the subject of intense discussion throughout the union movement, inside and outside the AFL-CIO.

They are being discussed in the context of Reagan's viciously antilabor policies.

Take the question of Reagan's proposed budget

cuts: AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's first response was a mild rebuke.

But last week Kirkland marched with UMWA President Sam Church in Washington to protest proposed cuts in black lung benefits.

A lot of AFL-CIO members would like to see the AFL-CIO organize that kind of protest against Reaganism that the miners staged.

On El Salvador, there is nothing like the monolithic pro-war stance that the top AFL-CIO officialdom adopted during Vietnam.

The president of the International Association of Machinists, William Winpisinger, is an outspoken opponent of U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The United Steelworkers union is organizing a national campaign to send eyeglasses to Nicaragua, and the editor of *Steelworker* signed an advertisement calling on Washington to end military aid to the junta. Some local AFL-CIO councils have spoken out against U.S. policy.

Outside the AFL-CIO, the Longshoremen's union is boycotting military shipments to El Salvador.

Other union leaders are lined up with Kirkland in supporting U.S. policy.

Nuclear power is another issue where changes are

occurring. The UMWA and the UAW are sponsoring the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg against reopening the Three Mile Island plant and for jobs. So are AFL-CIO unions like the IAM, the United Food and Commercial Workers, the International Chemical Workers, and the United Furniture Workers.

These issues cut across the division between unions in the AFL-CIO and those outside.

Reaffiliation will put autoworkers in the thick of a discussion about what labor should be doing about such life and death questions.

Officials of the AFL-CIO and UAW say reaffiliation will increase their clout with the Democratic Party—getting more seats on the Democratic National Committee and making possible a more active role in primary elections. And they hope to do more effective lobbying with the White House and Congress.

But discussion on whether labor should continue to be subordinated to the big-business parties or move toward forming its own party is spreading. Bringing together more union power into a single federation poses more sharply the question of how to use that power.

May 9 antidraft march wins support

By Joanne Kuniansky
and Joel Britton

Unionists and activists in the anti-draft and El Salvador solidarity movements will meet in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, March 28 to map out plans to build the May 9 march on Washington.

The May 9 action, which will culminate in a big rally at the Capitol, was called by a conference of more than 1,000 antidraft activists in Detroit February 14-15.

May 9 will be an effective answer to the Reagan administration's moves to sell military conscription, step-up U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and drastically cut social services.

The May 9 demonstration is being publicized in many cities by chapters of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), solidarity groups, and union members.

Supporters of May 9 are throwing themselves into building the union-organized March 28 action in Harrisburg. This action has been called to support the coal miners' fight for a decent contract, to demand the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant remain shut down, and to call for jobs for all.

Tens of thousands are expected to converge on Harrisburg in response to the call by the Mine Workers, Machinists, Auto Workers, and seven other international unions. Hundreds of endorsements of the Harrisburg action have come from local unions, Black community groups, antinuclear and other concerned groups and individuals.

Many of these forces can be won to support a massive rebuff to Reagan's war drive on May 9. The May 9 action has been endorsed by Machinists' president William Winpisinger; District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; Irving Bluestone, retired vice-president of the United Auto Workers; Tom Twomey; Hilda Mason, Washington, D.C. city councilperson; Rev. Ben Chavis of the Wilmington 10; Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) and others.

May 9 posters, leaflets, and buttons will be available at the Harrisburg activist meeting, and a discussion will be held on how to most effectively build the action mandated by the February conference.

Detroit CARD leaders

Russ Bellant, president of the Wayne State University Student-Faculty Council, attorney Jim Lafferty, and Cass Tech High School CARD leader Serena Christian are urging all supporters of a legal, peaceful march and rally at the Capitol in Washington on May 9 to join the Harrisburg action, sign up lo-



More than 1,000 antidraft activists voted to organize broadest possible action in Washington, D.C., on May 9.

cal endorsers, and pick up May 9 materials at the Harrisburg meeting. The meeting will take place right after the antinuclear rally.

Stalling on action program

When the thousand or so activists voted February 15 in Detroit to organize a mass march and rally in Washington May 9, they demanded "No registration, no draft! Stop the U.S. war buildup! Fund human needs, not war! U.S. out of El Salvador!"

The virtually unanimous vote followed many hours of discussion in workshops, regional caucuses, and a lengthy plenary session. Activists from many of CARD's 250 chapters and from many of the fifty-six national organizations affiliated with CARD participated, as did Salvador solidarity committee activists and members of many unions.

Unfortunately, some national CARD leaders have attempted to block implementation of the conference decisions, including the action program. Patrick Lacefield, a prominent member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and a member of CARD's steering committee, has presented a false and misleading account of the conference in articles in *In These Times*, the *National Catholic Reporter*, and *WIN* magazine. In *WIN*, Lacefield declared the May 9 demonstration to be "in limbo."

Under these circumstances, the "Peo-

ple's Antiwar Mobilization" (PAM), an ultra-sectarian group, has been able to play a disruptive role.

PAM showed up at the Detroit conference claiming to be "a recently formed coalition of antiwar, student, civil rights, women, gay and lesbian, labor, and political groups and individuals."

PAM sought endorsement of its May 3 action at the Pentagon.

PAM's demands against the draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador were not objectionable. But their unilateral action, taken behind the back of the antidraft movement as it was preparing to convene a broadly representative national conference, was resented by most CARD supporters present.

More important, it was understood that an action at the Pentagon, where it is very difficult to obtain a permit to hold a rally, is almost guaranteed to result in a physical confrontation with the police or army. Arrests and victimizations have been a feature of recent protest actions at the Pentagon, deterring the involvement of forces broader than a narrow layer of activists.

In workshop and regional caucus discussions on spring actions, PAM people disagreed on the centrality of the March 28 Harrisburg action, claiming it wasn't radical enough and discounting the importance of reaching out to the labor movement. And when action proposals were being put forward for a vote by the 1,000 or so people present at Sunday's

plenary session, PAM declined to present its May 3 action for a vote.

What kind of action?

Despite the clear conference decision to organize a united, non-confrontational march on Washington May 9—one that can draw broad backing and participation, open to all that support its aims—PAM went ahead with the building of its own action at the Pentagon.

After the conference, many leaders of CARD and the solidarity movements felt it was possible to negotiate with PAM in hopes of reaching agreement on a united action. Some thought the May 9 action should be moved to May 3 but held at the Capitol, to lessen the danger of a confrontation and assure the widest participation.

But it has become clear that PAM insists on a narrow, confrontational action.

A typical remark at a PAM meeting on March 14 in Brooklyn was, "We don't want to tip-toe around at the Capitol. We want to take over the Pentagon."

On March 17 PAM leader Larry Holmes—the 1980 vice-presidential candidate of the Workers World Party—told a meeting of antidraft and solidarity movement leaders that union officials and Democratic or Republican politicians would not be allowed on the platform May 3 unless they agreed to all the demands PAM put forward for the action.

The antidraft movement is at a crucial crossroads. The May 9 march and rally has the potential to bring together broad forces—unions, Black and Latino groups, religious and veterans groups, college and high school students, the rapidly growing movement in solidarity with the struggle in El Salvador—the very forces necessary to effectively answer Washington's war drive and the slashes in social benefits that go along with it.

A narrow, confrontational action at the Pentagon on May 3 is not a step toward mobilizing the social forces that can stop Reagan.

Washington's effort to attack the rights and living standards of working people in this country have already provoked a big response, showing the desire of working people to fight back. The 8-10,000 miners who marched on Washington to protest proposed cuts in black lung benefits and the tens of thousands in Harlem and other Black communities all over the country who have protested the murders of Black children in Atlanta, are examples of real power that can be brought to bear.

The May 9 march on Washington can tap this power.

'You can't blow up the world with coal'

David Rosenfeld is an eighteen-year-old draft resister and a leader of the Detroit Committee Against Registration and the Draft. After the National Antidraft Conference in February Rosenfeld quit his job as a machine operator to work full-time on the action program adopted by the conference.

"The fact that Green Berets are being sent to El Salvador to back up the murderous junta," Rosenfeld said, "and that Reagan administration officials have floated an actual plan for instituting the draft, points to the urgency of mobilizing the broadest possible march on Washington on May 9."

Rosenfeld is helping organize the meeting for March 28 in Harrisburg on building May 9. It will be held right after the big rally there. Information on the meeting will be available at the May 9 mobilization table at the rally site.



Militant/Suzanne Haig
Detroit CARD leader Dave Rosenfeld

For further information on the Harrisburg meeting contact Detroit Committee Against Registration and the Draft at (313) 833-8573.

Rosenfeld urged CARD chapters, solidarity groups, and union activists that have put out May 9 materials to send copies to: Detroit CARD, Room 751, Student Center

Building, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202; National CARD, 201 Massachusetts Avenue N.E., #111, Washington, D.C. 20002, telephone (202) 547-4340; and Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, P.O. Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005, telephone (202) 887-5019.

On March 28 Rosenfeld will join many other antidraft activists in the big march on Harrisburg against nuclear power and in solidarity with the coal miners.

Many CARD chapters will carry banners and placards with such slogans as, "You can't blow up the world with coal."

Rosenfeld suggests that activists in the El Salvador Solidarity movement may want to stress solidarity with the miners by carrying signs such as "Cut aid to Salvadoran junta, not black lung benefits."

—J.B.

Minnesota builds May 9

TWIN CITIES—Fifty supporters of the May 9 national demonstration against the draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador met here March 15. They formed the Minnesota Mobilization Task Force.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the Twin Cities National Organization for Women, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Minnesota Public Interest Research Group, Minnesota Citizens Party, and committees in solidarity with Guatemala and El Salvador.

A representative from the Fargo-Moorhead (North Dakota) CARD attended, as did individuals from five other Minnesota cities.

The Minnesota Task Force has already produced stickers, leaflets, and a poster for the May 9 demonstration.

Newark: 'Women can make the difference'

By Heidi Rose

NEWARK, N.J.—A huge paper mache Mother Jones, the historic organizer of mineworkers, led the International Women's Day parade here March 8. The float, made by members of the United Auto Workers union, was followed by some 1,000 marchers.

Contingent after contingent of union members marched behind the banners of their locals. There were colorful banners and balloons from the National Organization for Women, abortion rights groups, Girl Scouts, and various civic associations.

Green ribbons, worn to express solidarity with Atlanta's Black community and outrage at the murder of children, were everywhere.

Marchers chanted for ERA, and for fighting back against Reagan's cutbacks. They sang union songs.

The parade poured into Essex County College for an afternoon "Festival in Celebration of International Women's Day."

Literature, arts displays, and refreshments were provided at dozens of booths representing participating organizations. There was a showing of "The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter," a film about the experiences of women in industrial jobs during World War II, and how they were forced out after the war.

The high point was the rally. The auditorium was jammed and the proceedings had to be shown to the overflow crowd on closed-circuit television.

Georgia Kampf, UAW Region 9 Women's Coordinator, noted the importance of the fact that such a wide range of groups had united to support women's rights. "The opponents of women's rights are the same forces who are opposed to civil rights. The opponents of women's rights are the same forces who push nuclear power. The opponents of women's rights are the same forces who are opposed to labor unions," she declared.

The rally endorsed a message to be sent to Atlanta's Black community and to President Reagan. Asking all to wear green, black, or red ribbons to symbolize solidarity, it called on Reagan to send federal funds to Atlanta.

Kathy Andrade, education director for Local 23-25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers and a participant in the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, related the fight for women's rights to the struggle in El Salvador.

"I was born in El Salvador," she said, "so you can imagine how I feel when I see the U.S. government physically there, killing the people. The government of the United States is there, protecting 20 families that own and control everything, and \$60 million in [U.S.] investments."

She said women in El Salvador are fighting side by side with men against the junta "because we have no choice." She pointed to Nicaragua as a place where women had also fought a brutal dictatorship, and described the gains Nicaraguan women have made. "Women can make the difference," she concluded.

As Andrade sat down, the audience rose in a standing ovation. Chants of "No draft, no war, no intervention in El Salvador" went up.

Crystal Lee Sutton, the real "Norma Rae," was the featured speaker. She told the story of how workers won a union at the J.P. Stevens plant she had worked at.

She graphically illustrated the discrimination against women workers, telling how her 17-year-old son had once worked at the same job and made more money.

The International Women's Day celebration was the largest in memory for Newark. The participation of unions, women's organizations, and civic



International Women's Day March 8



groups indicates support for women's rights and opposition to Reagan's policies are running strong here.

Winston-Salem: 'With Babies and Banners'

By Lisa Potash

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—Applause greeted the showing of *With Babies and Banners*, a film portraying the role of women in the struggle that established the United Auto Workers in the Flint, Michigan, General Motors plants in 1936-37. The March 9 film showing was organized by the Winston-Salem National Organization for Women Labor Task Force and was attended by more than 100 people.

The meeting indicated the strong support that exists for the Equal Rights Amendment in North Carolina, in spite of the state legislature's refusal to ratify. In late February, Democratic and Republican legislators signed an agreement behind the backs of pro-ERA forces stating there will be no discussion or vote on the amendment in 1981 or 1982.

The ERA now sits in the legislature's Constitutional Amendments Committee.

After the film showing, a panel discussed issues facing North Carolina women. Panelists linked the state's "right-to-work" law to the fact that it has one of the smallest percentages of unionized workers and lowest average wages in the country.

Panelists included Don Austin, president of Local 3616, Communications Workers of America (CWA); Judy McIllee, professor of sociology, Salem College; and Meryl Farber, member of Teamsters Local 391 and NOW's Labor Task Force.

With three more states needed for ERA ratification, many ERA supporters in North Carolina recognize the obvious urgency of the battle to get it voted on by the 1982 deadline.

Monday night vigils at the capitol in Raleigh, organized by the Religious Coalition for the ERA, have drawn as many as 300 participants.

Both the Winston-Salem Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO and CWA Local 3616 helped build the March 9 film showing. Their involvement demonstrates the potential for drawing North Carolina unions into the fight.

San Francisco: 'No president will stop us'

By Ann Menasche

SAN FRANCISCO—Chanting "What do we want? ERA! When do we want it? Now!" an estimated 1,500 women's rights supporters marched through San Francisco's Black community March 7 for the Sixth Annual Day in the Park for Women's Rights. They joined 4,000 others for a rally in commemoration of International Women's Day.

Banners proclaimed support for the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, lesbian and gay rights, and affirmative action, in addition to opposing U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The marchers got a friendly reception from residents and passersby along the route.

A banner draped over the figure of a woman behind bars read, "You could be jailed if abortion is outlawed."

United Transportation Union Local 31 mobilized thirty-five people with banners proclaiming "On track for women's rights" and "Railroad women choo-choose women's rights."

An estimated fifty Blue Shield strikers and their supporters from Office and Professional Employees (OPEIU) Local 3 formed a spirited contingent, singing labor songs and shouting strike slogans. Clerical workers at Blue Shield, 80 percent women and two-thirds minorities, have been on strike since December 8 for decent wages and working conditions.

There were contingents from Machinists Local 565, Retail and Department Store Local 1100, American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 1352, and Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 2, among others.

One of the featured speakers at the rally was Ed Asner, TV's "Lou Grant."

"We must stand together and create the greatest upsurge for women's rights the world has ever seen," proclaimed San Francisco NOW President Andrea Teper.

Walter Johnson, secretary treasurer of Retail Local 1100, declared, "This present administration is battling against equal rights for women and human rights for everyone. We shall march together—no president, no Congress is going to stop us."

Sylvia Weinstein, a San Francisco NOW officer and member of the Socialist Workers Party, told the crowd, "For every one of us here today, there are millions more who support equal rights for women. We are going to fight for abortion rights so that every single child is a wanted child."

Maria Aster from Casa Nicaragua spoke about the role of women in the Nicaraguan revolution. "We must not permit Reagan to send advisors to El Salvador," she declared. "The American people support the struggle of El Salvador just as they supported the people of Nicaragua."

Many speakers expressed opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and solidarity with the Black community in Atlanta over the murders of Black children there.

Other speakers included Bella Abzug, former congresswoman from New York; Sonia Johnson, a Mormon excommunicated for her support of the ERA; Reeve Olson, OPEIU Local 3; Willie Brown, California assembly speaker; Sylvia Gonzales, coordinator of the First National Hispanic Feminist Conference; and Barbara Cameron, cochair of the 1981 Gay Freedom Day parade.

Spearheaded by San Francisco NOW, this year's event received the endorsement of over sixty organizations including the San Francisco chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; the Central Labor Councils of San Francisco, Santa Clara, and Contra Costa County; Teamsters Local 265; Longshoremen's Local 34 and Local 10; and AFT Local 61.

'Coal dust doesn't discriminate'

Nonunion miner discusses black lung fight

When United Mine Workers President Sam Church called for the two-day walkout and march on Washington to protest Reagan's threats against black lung benefits, he urged union and non-union miners alike to participate.

Some non-union miners risked their jobs to join the demonstration, but most worked that day.

Below is a discussion between union miner Dave Ferguson and a friend from a non-union mine, Vern Jones. (That is not his real name, since union supporters in non-union mines have to be discreet.) The discussion was held a few days prior to the March 9 miners' demonstration.

Dave Ferguson is a member of Local 2095 at a Republic Steel mine in northern West Virginia.

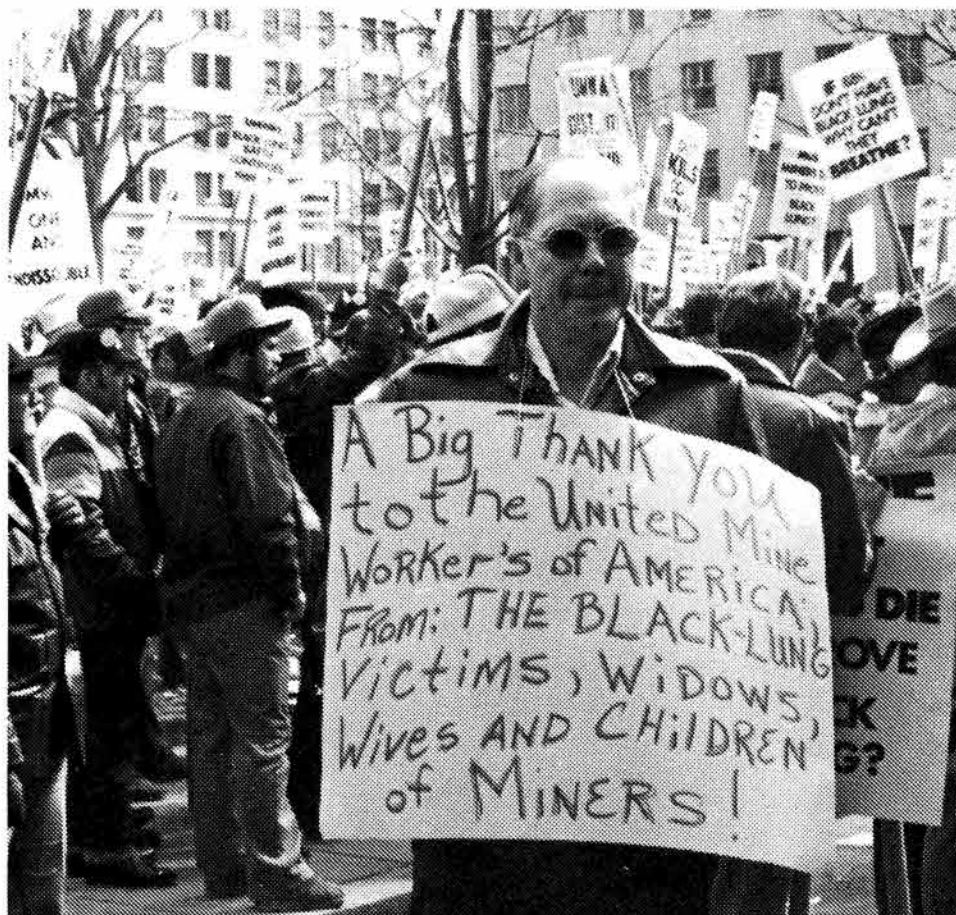
The March 1981 *Young Socialist* has an article on another discussion between Dave and Vern about working conditions at non-union mines compared to those organized by the UMWA.

The *Young Socialist* is available for thirty cents from P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

* * *

Dave: By now you've heard or read that UMWA President Sam Church has called a memorial protest to save black lung benefits. What's the reaction in your mine?

Vern: Most people at work have seen someone close to them disabled or killed by black lung. Everybody thinks the benefits are necessary and does not want to see them cut back. It may be the only thing we all agree on. But there is not



At D.C. black lung protest

Militant/Suzanne Haig

agreement on what to do about it. About one in four probably feel like I do, that the protest is a good thing, it will show Reagan the miners are willing to fight.

But some think there is just nothing you can do; that the government has made up its mind and that's it. One fel-

low swears up and down that Church is just showboating to prod the companies on negotiations. Two guys in another section think Reagan will have the miners arrested. And others wish the protest were on a weekend so we could participate.

Dave: Were you impressed that Sam Church made a big point of inviting non-union miners?

Vern: It made me and the other pro-union guys feel real good. It shows the union cares about a lot more than collecting dues. Coal dust doesn't discriminate. It's too dumb to know whether it's disrupting a union or non-union lung.

Dave: Will people at your mine join the protest?

Vern: If the union sent people to shut us down. Otherwise we're working. We'll probably get inspected too, since there won't be as many places for them to go. As things stand, I'm showing up for work, but my heart will be in Washington.

Dave: Reagan is cutting all kinds of social services, like food stamps. How is the Reagan program viewed in general?

Vern: The only one I've heard support Reagan's budget cuts is the boss. Not everyone has spoken his piece, but what I've heard is negative. Some is downright hostile.

When oil and gas prices were going up recently one older guy would sound off on Reagan everyday as we dressed. He cussed Reagan and the cutbacks without mercy. And nobody challenged him. There is some sentiment against welfare, but if there aren't enough jobs, you can't let people die.

Reagan is still on the honeymoon with the newspapers, TV and congress, but people I know wouldn't offer to carry his books home from school.

'Like July 19 all over again'

Nicaragua masses say 'no!' to rightist attacks

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—A pro-capitalist rally scheduled for March 15 in the little town of Nandaime was cancelled at the last minute by its organizers, after angry protests swept the country.

The rally had been called by the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), headed by wealthy cotton grower and industrialist Alfonso Robelo.

The MDN hoped to use the rally to make political gains from the country's real economic problems. The capitalists have tried to lay blame for these problems on the revolutionary government and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

In granting official permission for the MDN rally, Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge reminded the organizers of the tense international situation. He noted that on March 7 security forces had discovered arms caches on two farms in the Nandaime area, and that there had been serious efforts to provoke armed incidents, especially around Nandaime. He urged the MDN to use common sense and not to further provoke the Nicaraguan people.

Capitalist sabotage

Robelo, the MDN, and the other pro-capitalist political currents are widely detested because they are identified with sabotage of the economy and of national defense, and with U.S. government pressures against Nicaragua.

The MDN and its allies, such as the reactionary daily *La Prensa*, have refused to take part in the national mobilization to bring in the cotton harvest. They have refused to help build the militias, crucial for national defense.

The capitalists have engaged in a vast campaign of withdrawing their

capital from enterprises, weakening an economy staggering under the load of foreign debt inherited from Somoza.

They have failed to condemn the cutoff of credits for the purchase of U.S. wheat, which could leave the country without bread for two months.

They supported the false charges of human rights violations in Nicaragua spread by José Esteban González. He has retracted them.

They have failed to condemn the constant raids by ex-members of Somoza's National Guard across the border from Honduras, which have claimed 100 Nicaraguan lives.

They blamed the revolutionary government and the FSLN for the Reagan administration's decision to "freeze" \$15 million in aid.

Despite Borge's warning, Robelo, speaking on Costa Rican radio March 12, accused the FSLN of "militarizing" the country. Claiming there were 40,000 people in the army, police, and security forces, he minimized the possibility of a U.S. military intervention and made no mention of the counterrevolutionaries openly training in Florida for an invasion of Nicaragua.

The next day, the U.S. State Department echoed Robelo's charges. It said Nicaragua was increasing the size of its army from 30,000 to 50,000, and claimed an army that size was "too big to be purely defensive."

Killing sparks protest

All this would have been enough to provoke an angry popular reaction. But the last straw was the March 13 murder of a member of the Sandinista People's Militias by a gang, two members of which said they were in the MDN.

The killing brought 2,000 people to the national headquarters of the San-

dinista Workers Federation (CST) for a memorial protest.

Robelo had boasted that 60,000 people would turn up in Nandaime Sunday morning to repudiate the FSLN. Instead, tens of thousands poured into the streets Saturday night in cities and towns around the country—and stayed there until they heard the MDN rally had been called off.

The protests were partly organized by Sandinista mass organizations, in particular by the Sandinista Defense Committees. But the size and militancy of the actions surprised many FSLN supporters also.

In cities like León, Estelí, and Masaya, reporters compared the scene with the time of the insurrection. Barricades were built to prevent people from going to Nandaime, bonfires were set, and marches and rallies were held. In some smaller towns, almost the whole population turned out.

'We are Sandinistas'

The response in Nandaime itself was particularly dramatic. This town of 20,000 people, seventy kilometers from Managua, had been chosen as the site for the MDN rally because of its conservative reputation. But throughout the day Saturday, thousands of people demonstrated against the planned rally. Almost every street corner had an anti-MDN speaker. The workers at the cattle yard where the rally was to take place passed a resolution of protest. The message was clear: "Nandaime is Sandinista."

In Managua, large crowds gathered outside the offices of *La Prensa* and its counterpart Radio Corporación. It was only after top FSLN leaders intervened that the angry demonstrators dispersed.

Commander of the Revolution

Bayardo Arce went on the radio at midnight Saturday to urge everyone to register their protests in an orderly way and to refrain from violence.

A representative of the FSLN afterward expressed regret at isolated incidents of violence that could not be prevented. (Several houses were burned and at least two vehicles destroyed.)

The FSLN laid the blame for the violence on the provocations of the MDN.

'Just like July 19'

By Sunday morning everything was completely calm once again—except in Nandaime, where an all-day fiesta was held to celebrate the cancellation of the anti-Sandinista rally. "This is just like July 19 all over again," the head of the CDS told a radio reporter.

In Monimbó and other cities, people who had been in the streets most of the night went off to pick cotton, as they do every Sunday morning.

Robelo has called the night of March 14 "a night of terror," and charged that the masses' repudiation of the MDN proved that political pluralism in Nicaragua was "a farce."

Nicaraguans in the streets interviewed by Sandinista Television, answered him. They explained that pluralism meant that workers, small producers, and students and other patriotic people had the right to organize and speak out. It didn't mean that counterrevolutionaries had the right to organize to crush the revolution.

A "Popular Victory: Provocateurs Retreat," read the *Barricada* headline March 15. The FSLN daily explained that Robelo and his friends had backed down "in face of the just and widespread popular protest which has been generated all over the country."



And only God can make a tree— A chemist at the Weyerhaeuser lumber company assured a group of Washington State environmentalists that babies are "replaceable," reports the Utah *NOW News*. This was in response to the complaint that the company's herbicide spray program is causing miscarriages. A company official explained that the chemist was merely voicing a scientific fact and added the suggestion that women plan their pregnancies around the spray program.

Austerity champion—Rep. Paula Hawkins of Florida held a Washington

luncheon to unveil a proposed bill to put food stamp "chiselers" in the slammer. In an elaborate setting, the lunch included beef, asparagus, apple pie, grapes, and strawberries. Hawkins departed in a huff when reporters pressed her about who was picking up the estimated \$2,800 tab.

Rodent control—Rat and mouse traps may become obsolete in the Harrisburg area, as indicated by the finding of radioactive rodent droppings in the basement of the building next to the damaged Three Mile Island nuclear site. The little creatures there have apparently been sipping the irradiated

water. However, the company assures, there's no problem for people since you'd have to ingest large quantities of the droppings before you begin to glow.

The march of civilization—To provide Death Row inmates the dignity of a choice in how they die, the Utah House of Representatives voted that as an alternative to the firing squad, the state should also offer death by injection.

Afterthought—Without meaning to stretch the point unduly, that Utah execution alternative did suggest to us being offered a ballot with only Repub-

licans and Democrats on it.

Presidential timber—A Wisconsin mental patient published a pamphlet, *Mad Man's Book of Formulas*, which he mails out at \$9.95 a copy. It tells how knockout drops can be made from toilet cleanser, how to kill people with insect poison, and how to make napalm.

Thought for the week—"The United States will not make the Vietnam syndrome disappear by repeating it."—A "well-placed Mexican," as reported in the March 11 *New York Times*.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Lenin on the life of Marx

March 14 was the ninety-eighth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. On that day, in 1883, "the greatest living thinker ceased to think," his friend and comrade Frederick Engels said at his graveside.

In 1914, a revolutionist from a new generation, who had been guided by his ideas, wrote a biographical article on Marx. Below are excerpts from this article by V.I. Lenin.

The article appears in 'Marx and Engels: Through the Eyes of Their Contemporaries,' distributed by Pathfinder Press, \$2.45.

Karl Marx was born on May 5, 1818, in the city of Trier (Rhenish Prussia). His father was a lawyer, a Jew, who in 1824 adopted Protestantism. The family was well-to-do, cultured, but not revolutionary.

He concluded his university course in 1841, submitting a doctoral thesis on the philosophy of Epicurus. At the time Marx was a Hegelian idealist in his views. In Berlin, he belonged to the circle of "Left Hegelians" (Bruno Bauer and others) who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel's philosophy.

[In 1843] some radical bourgeois in the Rhineland, who were in touch with the Left Hegelians, founded, in Cologne, an opposition paper called *Rheinische Zeitung* (the first issue appeared on January 1, 1842). Marx and Bruno Bauer were invited to be the chief contributors, and in October 1842 Marx became editor-in-chief and moved from Bonn to Cologne.

The newspaper's revolutionary-democratic trend

became more and more pronounced under Marx's editorship, and the government first imposed double and triple censorship on the paper, and then on January 1, 1843, decided to suppress it.

In the autumn of 1843, Marx went to Paris in order to publish a radical journal abroad. . . . In September 1844 Frederick Engels came to Paris for a few days, and from that time on became Marx's closest friend.

In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society called the Communist League; they took a prominent part in the League's Second Congress (London, November 1847), at whose request they drew up the celebrated *Communist Manifesto*, which appeared in February 1848.

With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of a new, communist society.

On the outbreak of the Revolution of February 1848, Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Paris, whence, after the March Revolution, he went to Cologne, Germany, where the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849, with Marx as editor-in-chief. The new theory was splendidly confirmed by the course of the revolutionary events of 1848-49, just as it has been subsequently confirmed by all proletarian and democratic movements in all countries of

the world.

The victorious counter-revolutionaries first instigated court proceedings against Marx (he was acquitted on February 9, 1849), and then banished him from Germany (May 16, 1849). First Marx went to Paris, was again banished after the demonstration of June 13, 1849, and then went to London, where he lived till his death.

The revival of the democratic movements in the late fifties and in the sixties recalled Marx to practical activity. In 1864 (September 28) the International Working Men's Association—the celebrated First International—was founded in London. Marx was the heart and soul of this organization, and author of its first Address and of a host of resolutions, declarations and manifestos.

In uniting the labor movement of various countries, striving to channel into joint activity the various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxist socialism . . . and in combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries.

Marx's health was undermined by his strenuous work in the International and his still more strenuous theoretical occupations. He continued work on the refashioning of political economy and on the completion of *Capital*, for which he collected a mass of new material and studied a number of languages (Russian, for instance). However, ill-health prevented him from completing *Capital*.

On March 14, 1883, Marx passed away peacefully in his armchair.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

FILM: 'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.' Speaker: Bill Frye, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., March 27, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN FRANCISCO

NUCLEAR NIGHTMARE. Speakers: Elyse Axell, Friends of the Earth; Don Mahoney, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 27, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

COLORADO DENVER

THE FIGHT AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT. Speakers: Lou Sartor, Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now organizer; Harold Sudmeyer, member, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees Local 1351 and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 27, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Aup: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

POLAND: A STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS DEMOCRACY. Speakers: Gary Fields, United Steelworkers Local 15271, visited Poland during 1980 upsurge; Jon

Hardy, visited Poland in 1972; Chris Rayson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Sun., March 22, 7:30 p.m. 131 W. Main (2nd and Main). Donation: \$3. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

TERRORISM: THE ROLE OF THE CIA FROM PATAGONIA TO PANAMA. Speakers: Gary Prevost, professor of government, St. John's University and member Socialist Workers Party; George Mische, St. Cloud City Council member and Operating Engineers Local 34 business agent. Sun., March 29, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK BROOKLYN

STOP THE RACIST MURDERS: A REPORT FROM ATLANTA. Speaker: Susan Wald, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York City Council President, others. Fri., March 20, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

EL SALVADOR: NEXT VIETNAM? A PBS documen-

tary film. Speakers to be announced. Fri., March 27, 7 p.m. Main Library, 660 W. 5th St. Aup: Committee Against Registration and the Draft, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Citizens Concerned for Central America.

OREGON PORTLAND

GRENADA: TWO YEARS AFTER THE REVOLUTION. A slide show and talk by Donald Massey, recently returned from a tour of Grenada. Sun., March 22, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

WHY THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE IS DEPORTING PALESTINIANS: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT. Speaker: Bishara Costandi, Portland State University activist in Committee for a Democratic Palestine. Sun., March 29, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

EYEWITNESS REPORT AND SLIDE SHOW FROM GRENADA. Speaker: Eileen Gersh, recently returned from trip to Grenada, member of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 22, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

STRIKE: WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT THE MINERS AND TRANSIT WORKERS. Speakers to be an-

nounced. Sun., March 29, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad. Donation \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

TEXAS DALLAS

CLASSES EN ESPAÑOL. Every Sunday, 2 p.m. 5442 E. Grand. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

TEACH-IN ON EL SALVADOR. Sat., April 4, 1-7 p.m. SMU Seelman Hall. Workshops and films in Spanish and English on the many aspects of U.S. involvement in El Salvador. Aup: Dallas Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

NO MORE THREE MILE ISLANDS! Speakers and slide show on the dangers of nuclear power and nuclear weapons. Fri., March 27, 7:30 p.m. 957 S. University. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

WHAT THE COAL MINERS ARE FIGHTING FOR. Speaker: Nancy Cole, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 29, 3 p.m. 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

The American Way of Life

The day the sewer exploded

Military jeeps bouncing through empty streets, craters thirty feet wide by thirty feet deep, police checking IDs at every intersection, families evacuated to safe areas.

Sounds like a war zone. Actually, it is a sizable section of Louisville, Kentucky, after a series of chemical explosions ripped through the Southern Outfall Sewer District on February 12.

The explosions, which resulted in an estimated \$42 million in damages, were caused by chemical dumping from the Ralston-Purina Co.

The state fire marshal's office said the chemical, hexane, a highly volatile industrial solvent, "escaped in such volume" that it overwhelmed a 7,000 gallon containment basin, supposedly designed to prevent such spills into the sewer system.

The trouble began Wednesday morning, February 11, when production of soybean meal at Ralston-Purina was shut down to repair broken parts. The company resumed production at 5 p.m. the next day.

Workers at the plant asked for permission to shut down again after encountering problems in the start-up phase. Company management ordered production to continue.

By 9:15 that night, workers were calling supervisors at their homes to tell them of major problems at the plant. They were told to call back later.

By 11 p.m., workers saw hexane flowing into the sewers and immediately shut down production. It was too late. Hexane continued to leak out and, by Friday afternoon, at least 8,000 gallons had spilled into the sewers.

On Friday morning, February 14, at 5:16 a.m., streets in the area erupted in blue-white flames, collapsing one and one half miles of city streets.

Because of the early hour, only four people were injured. A few hours later, the streets would have been filled with traffic.

Evidence is surfacing that points to a cover-up by

Bob Hill is the chairperson of the Louisville YSA and a member of Sheet Metal Workers Local 433. He works at Wuest Metals plant, in the most heavily damaged area of Louisville.



Police ordered this Louisville couple to leave home after sewer explosion

Ralston-Purina. Company officials admit to making an emergency phone call to their St. Louis headquarters on Thursday, February 13. But a tape of that call was erased.

In addition, investigators said a tank inside the plant was drained into the containment basin several hours after the explosions. This destroyed a key piece of evidence of whether the production system was overloaded with hexane.

The EPA requires chemical plants to have a "Spill Pollution Counter Measure Control Plan" and keep it on site. Company officials have told investigators they "can't locate the plan."

Confusion and bitterness are the most common feelings of area residents. Many are mad at the idea of increased taxes to pay for the damages, an idea floated by city officials.

Sue, who works at Wuest Bros. Metals, which is in the most severely damaged area, said "Ralston-Purina should pay . . . they made the mess. You know they are going to try to stick us with the bill."

Perry, a retired carpenter, and his wife Mary have been evacuated along with sixty other families because of house damage and lack of water and gas service.

"I'm lucky I have five grown sons to help me out now," he said. "But what about the neighbors? The government isn't going to pay for anything. We have to pay for it. I'm going to try to sell the house and move out for good."

Local residents are also angered by continual police ID checks. Mike Montgomery, who was arrested while attempting to pick up his mail, said "We've lost all our rights. We get thrown around, hassled, arrested."

The Louisville sewer explosions are just another example of the bosses' contempt for the health and safety of people who work in or live near their plants. Hooker Chemical and Love Canal, Met Ed and Three Mile Island—and now Ralston-Purina and the Louisville sewers—it's the same old story of capitalist profit before human safety.

—Bob Hill

Learning About Socialism

Capitalism, socialism, and democracy

Reader H.E. asks: "How would political freedoms be affected by the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' [in the United States]? What kind, if any, of press or speech censorship or ideological suppression would you feel is necessary to prevent counterrevolution? How would you answer the charge that big business and Republicrat tyrants would just be replaced by party tyrants?"

These questions arise fundamentally from the historical experience of the Soviet Union. There, a caste of privileged bureaucrats governs the workers state with a heavy hand. Workers have no voice in choosing the government or guiding the economy. Artists and writers are told what to create.

Would the same thing happen here if there was a socialist revolution? The question is high on the agenda of workers considering socialist ideas.

The mainspring of capitalist society is the struggle between two social classes, capitalists and workers. No government is or can be neutral in this struggle. In the United States today, the government is an organization of the capitalist minority to hold down working people, the great majority.

The Socialist Workers Party's suit against the government has revealed some of the antidemocratic methods the government uses. The government asserts it has the right to harass and intimidate anyone who thinks or advocates that capitalism should be replaced by the rule of the workers.

In spite of claims to uphold pure democracy, the U.S. government is a dictatorship of the capitalist class.

In order to defend our basic interests, and in order to establish and maintain unions and other organizations, labor has waged a constant struggle for democratic rights. Our rights were not gifts from the founding fathers, but products of the class struggle.

In the long run, democratic rights of working people cannot be preserved within the framework of capitalism. As long as the basic means of produc-

tion and distribution remain the property of a tiny capitalist minority, working people will be denied a voice in the biggest decision in their lives—how wealth is produced and distributed.

As capitalism sinks deeper into crisis, the ruling class will increasingly seek to preserve its rule through antidemocratic repression.

The replacement of the capitalist government by a workers government will make possible the introduction of democracy into the economy for the first time. Not only government officials, but leaders of industry and commerce will be chosen by working people. Workers will participate in all areas of decision-making.

As workers and working farmers move toward coming to power, the capitalist minority can be expected to put up fierce resistance.

The workers government will have to act with enough firmness to break this resistance. In this sense, it too will be a dictatorship. But this will be the dictatorship of the working class majority over a discredited capitalist minority.

History doesn't march in a straight line. The first workers government, the Paris Commune of 1871, did not lead to a socialist society. It was brutally crushed by the capitalists.

The second workers government, the Soviet government that came to power in October 1917, faced a determined effort to crush it by capitalist reaction. Nineteen armies invaded the Soviet Union, and local counterrevolutionary gangs got foreign financing. Russia, a poor country, was further impoverished by civil war that came in the wake of the ruin brought by World War I. The small working class was exhausted and decimated.

Elsewhere, capitalists succeeded in suppressing workers' revolutions. The result of the Soviet Union's isolation and poverty was the rise to power of a privileged bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin. Workers democracy was suppressed and cultural freedom disappeared.

By the time of the Cuban revolution, the balance of forces had shifted in favor of the working class. The U.S. rulers proved unable to launch a bloody war against the workers and farmers government in Cuba. The attempt to do so at the Bay of Pigs in 1961 collapsed.

Because it has not gone through the misery that the Soviet masses had to endure, the Cuban revolution has avoided the bureaucratic degeneration that occurred in the Soviet Union.

The struggle of the Polish workers also points toward workers' democracy.

A workers government in the United States will find conditions far more favorable than any country which has yet abolished capitalism. It will command the most developed industrial machine in the world. The defeat of the capitalist class here will break the back of world reaction. There will be no economic blockade or massive foreign invasions here.

An unprecedented flowering of democracy will result. Within a relatively short time even the need to have an army and police to guard against potential counterrevolution will disappear. Full freedom, individual and collective, will be realized.

What guarantee is there that this will actually happen? The only guarantee is the struggle of working people, our determination to become masters of our fate.

For the views of Marx and Engels on the proletarian dictatorship, read their writings on the Paris Commune. Lenin's views can be found in *State and Revolution*.

The best Marxist analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet state is Leon Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*.

The relationship between the struggle for democracy and the socialist revolution is the subject of George Novack's *Democracy and Revolution*.

All are available from Pathfinder Press and the offices listed on page 31.

—William Gottlieb

Letters

'Coal Strike' pamphlets

Recently my husband was in Washington, D.C., for the march on the White House against the cut in the black lung program. He obtained one copy of "The 110-day Coal Strike—Its Meaning for All Working People."

Is it possible to obtain another half dozen or dozen copies of these pamphlets? I found it very informative and would like to pass them on to some friends and fellow coal mining families.

Your immediate attention to this would be greatly appreciated.
S.S.

Avonmore, Pennsylvania

[In reply—Copies of "The 110-Day Coal Strike—Its Meaning for All Working People" are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

[Bundles of five or more cost \$.45 each. Individual copies are \$.75 each. Please include \$.50 for shipping and handling.

[Introductory eight-week subscriptions to the *Militant*, which include a complimentary copy of the pamphlet, are available for \$2. Mail subscriptions to the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.]

Randy Webster

I watched "The Killing of Randy Webster" on CBS TV March 11. In the part of the story they dealt with, mostly about the victim's family, they did a fairly good job. I suppose they should be commended for telling about the Houston police murder of an unarmed teenager. But they left most of the story out.

In the TV version, the FBI swooped to the bereaved family's rescue and ferreted out the only three "bad" cops in a force of 3,000 dedicated officers.

In a postscript to the film, they told that neither the murderer nor any of the conspirators who helped cover up the crime ever spent a day in jail and are on the streets today.

The real story deals with the

tremendous public pressure that forced the FBI and other agencies to curtail the excesses of the trigger-happy uniformed thugs. *Militant* coverage of the period tells about a long series of police crimes that were going on long before Randy Webster was slain.

The two cops who murdered Milton Glover, a Black man who died waving a Bible at them, were never even taken off the force. The gang of cops who beat Chicano Joe Torres and drowned him received probated sentences. By the time Randy Webster, a white youth, was killed, the public outcry in Houston had reached a crescendo. Actions demanding an end to police brutality were regular occurrences.

And that accounts for why the police tried to clean up their murderous act—the same reason that all social change occurs—independent political action, not saintly FBI agents.
Gene Lantz
Dallas, Texas

Nix on MX

Saber rattling by the Reagan administration notwithstanding, a majority of people in Utah still oppose construction of MX missile sites here.

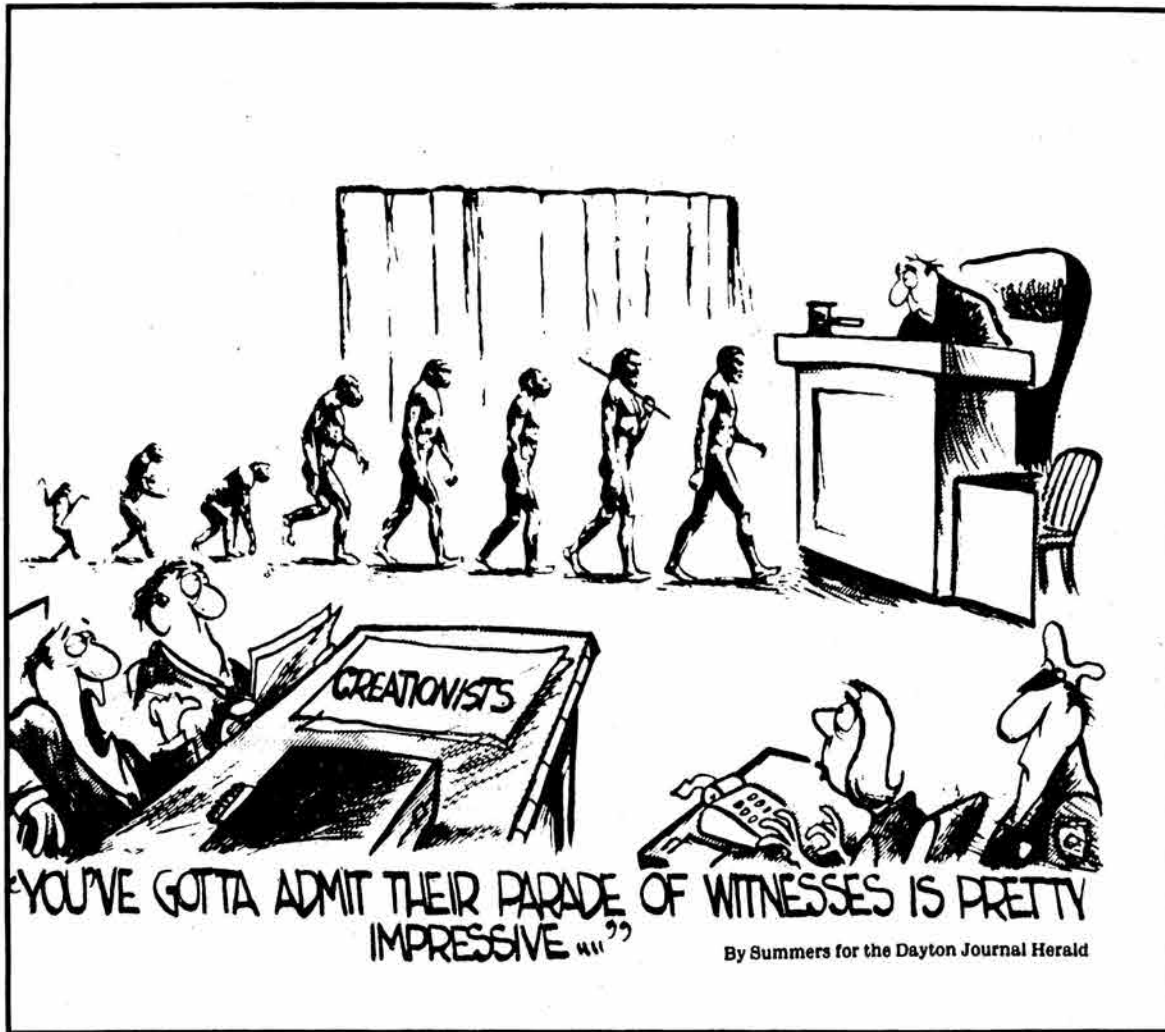
The *Salt Lake Tribune* recently sponsored a survey based on 578 personal interviews throughout the state. The margin of opposition they found was three to two statewide, and two to one in Salt Lake County, with negative opinion running very high close to the proposed site.

Men sixty and older were the only group to favor MX placement in Utah.

The figures broke down like this: 50 percent opposed, 35 percent in favor, and 15 percent undecided. Included in the undecided category were those who said they didn't want missiles *anywhere*.

If Utahns have their way, it will be a cold day in July before the MX comes to this state.

A reader
Salt Lake City, Utah



Charge them with murder

While Reagan talks about scaling down the Environmental Protection Agency and eliminating environmental regulations, we're being slowly poisoned to death by the chemical and other industries along the Mississippi River.

Thousands of us will die from cancer and other diseases caused by pollution, like the twenty-one tons of phenol dumped into our drinking water recently by Georgia-Pacific.

This is nothing but mass murder for profit.

Environmental regulations shouldn't be relaxed—they should be toughened. To hell with what it costs them in profits.

These companies tell us: "Well, if you want these regulations, we'll have to close up and put you out of work."

Is that our only "choice"—

dying a slow, painful death of cancer or unemployment? Is this "choice"—having a job, but paying for it with cancer; or not having a job, but drinking fresh water and breathing fresh air—all that we've really got?

This is nothing but extortion.

I say we have a right to a job and health and safety. The solution is simple. We should reject companies' phony ultimatums and tell the corporate big wigs: "Either you run your operation to provide jobs without spreading cancer, or we'll nationalize your operation, put it under workers' control, and run it as a public utility for the public good."

We could begin to deal with this massive poisoning of our communities by arresting the boards of directors of these polluting companies like Georgia-Pacific and charging them with mass murder. Then we'd begin to get some justice and some results.

Michael Breslin
New Orleans, Louisiana

CORRECTION

In last week's *Militant* we printed a message from United Auto Workers Local 160 protesting the firing of fifteen Lockheed workers. Through an editing error the local's location was reported incorrectly. Local 160 is located at General Motors Technical Center, Warren, Michigan.

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell.

Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph

Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles:

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(213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th

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COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave.

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FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, c/o Adam Shedroff,

1118 NW 3rd Ave. Zip: 32601. Miami: SWP, YSA,

1237 NW 119th St. North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel:

(305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St.

NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W.

Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP,

YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel:

(312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip:

46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP,

YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-

6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main

#102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin

St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Green-

mount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837.

Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Common-

wealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-

4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Tel: (313) 663-7068.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip:

48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012

2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O.

Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin

Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul.

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MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost.

Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP,

YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314)

725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central

Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417

Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP,

YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave.

Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Man-

hattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip:

10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide

SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003.

Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E.

6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-

3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip:

45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA,

2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369.

Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel:

(419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett.

Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State

College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadel-

phia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141.

Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP,

YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412)

488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Bill Donovan,

1240 E. Branch Rd. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-

6655.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 1322,

Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman

Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand.

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WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761.

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THE MILITANT

Miners fight for rights

Union defends retirees' pensions



Eight Thousand miners demonstrate in Washington on March 8.

By Stu Singer

PITTSBURGH—Two of the most important issues in the miners' contract talks concern the Arbitration Review Board (ARB) and the pension plan. What do these questions involve?

The Arbitration Review Board is the high court to settle disputes between the union and management. The ARB

MARCH 17—The United Mine Workers bargaining committee returned to the coalfields March 17 after company negotiators refused to respond to the UMWA's latest offer. Among other things, the union is fighting to preserve industry-wide pension plans and Sundays off for miners and to change an inequitable arbitration setup.

UMWA President Sam Church said the employers' stand makes a strike inevitable. "We will have to call on our strength and unity again," he declared.

sits atop a base of arbitrators in each union district. They are supposed to settle disputes that aren't resolved by discussions between the miner and his or her foreman, the elected mine committee and mine management, or a UMW district representative and designated employer representatives.

The supposedly neutral arbitrators almost always side with the companies. Arbitration stalls settlements, sometimes for years. It is expensive, since the union has to pay half the cost of overpaid arbitrators and their staffs.

The existence of the ARB makes it less likely issues will be settled at the mine. ARB decisions almost always go against the union.

How big an issue is ARB?

The strongest feelings are among miners who have tried to deal with the arbitration procedure. To them, getting rid of ARB is a strike issue.

This was also the sentiment expressed at the December 1979 UMWA International Convention in Denver.

In the 1977-78 contract talks, the operators wanted to force acceptance of miners being fired or disciplined for strike activity. This was removed from the third contract proposal, which was approved. It ended a three and a half month strike.

But that contract did include a "memorandum of understanding" to continue the ARB.

ARB rulings have tried to accomplish what the operators could not get into the contract language.

The most infamous decision by the Arbitration Review Board is called ARB 108. Announced in October 1977, it authorizes firing and disciplining miners who advocate, promote, or participate in an unauthorized strike.

Miners view this as a direct attack on their rights. It can be and has been interpreted to mean that a miner who discusses the idea of a strike, on or off company property, can be fired.

The ARB and the operators claim ARB decisions have the effect of law. The ARB, with its anti-union record,

claims to have veto power over a contract ratified by a vote of 160,000 miners.

That is why one proposal of the union in the current contract fight, as summarized in a January 27 issue of the union's *Negotiating News* is: "Better protection for mine committee members acting in an official capacity in adjusting disputes at the mine; tighter time controls on the grievance procedure and more timely decisions; an end to repeated arbitration of the same issues; and elimination of the Arbitration Review Board as an instrument of dispute resolution."

Pensions

The same issue of *Negotiating News* explains union goals concerning pension benefits: "Increases in pension benefits for both 1950 and 1974 pensioners; a widow's pension for wives of 1950 pensioners comparable to that received by surviving spouses of 1974 pensioners; removal of inequalities suffered by miners forced to take early retirement as deferred vested pensioners; retirement calculations based on rates in effect at the time of retirement, rather than at the time the individual last worked; and an increase in disability pension benefits."

\$27,000 a year

What do the companies want?

For pension programs to be organized company-by-company instead of

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West Va. miners challenge firings

By Chris Horner

CHARLESTON, W.V.—In response to what United Mine Worker officials here believe were deliberate company provocations, 5,000 miners struck from February 12 to 23 in Boone and Logan counties just south of here. The strike shut down over 20 mines at its peak.

This is UMWA District 17, the largest in the union and the birthplace, a decade ago, of the Black Lung and Miners for Democracy movements.

The strike was in solidarity with UMW locals at Powellton Coal Co. and Youngstown Mine Corp. in Logan County. Miners were also provoked by arbitrary firings at the Hobet Mining & Construction Co. and the Rebel Coal Co. in Boone county.

About 250 members of Local 8217 struck against Powellton January 29 because the company hired a non-union subcontractor to reopen a closed mine. After attending a February 16 meeting of the local, District 17 President Jack Perry told the press: "I think the company wants some trouble. When you're so near the end of a contract and they announce something like that, which they know the men object to, it's obvious to me that they want the men to strike to weaken themselves before the contract [expires]."

In West Virginia nearly all mine construction is done by UMW construction locals. The attempt by Powellton was an attack on jobs and seniority. It took place when 6,000 miners are on layoff in District 17, and as many as 14,000 statewide.

According to the February 12 *Logan Banner*, Mel Triola, secretary-treasurer of the Logan Coal Operators Association, requested that Logan police patrol roads to catch union pickets who had covered their license plates. He also sent a telegram to Governor John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV, asking that state police be ordered onto county highways. Rockefeller forwarded the request to the Department of Public Safety.

Under a reactionary 1977 ruling by the Arbitration Review Board, miners who are caught picketing in wildcat actions can be fired. As a result, pickets wear ski masks and cover their license plates to protect themselves.

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Is it illegal to be a socialist?

FBI affidavit poses basic issue in socialist suit

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